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CHIEFLY THE PRODUCTIONS OF
EARLY MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS:
INTENDED TO ILLUSTRATE
THE
SPIRITUAL CHARACTER OF THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST.

First Edited by the late
JOHN BARCLAY.

The kingdom of God is not in word but in power.—1 COR. IV. 20.

1611
VOL. VI.

LONDON:
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GRACECHURCH STREET.

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THE
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EDITED BY

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HARVARD

JOURNALS

OF THE

LIVES AND GOSPEL LABOURS

OF

WILLIAM CATON,

AND

JOHN BURNYEAT.

Second Edition.

ALSO,

A BRIEF MEMOIR

CONCERNING

JOHN CROKER,

OF PLYMOUTH.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED.

LONDON:

HARVEY AND DARTON, GRACECHURCH STREET.

1839.

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LONDON :

JOHNSTON AND BARRETT, PRINTERS,

MARK LANE.

P R E F A C E.

THE present volume contains a re-print of the Lives and Gospel Labours of WILLIAM CATON and JOHN BURNYEAT,—the former from the First Edition of 1689, the latter from that of 1691; to which is added a Brief Memoir concerning JOHN CROKER, of Plymouth, who was born in the year 1673, now first published.

The Editor thinks it proper to explain, respecting this edition of William Caton's Life, that instead of adopting the very short chapters of the first edition, he has divided the work into chapters of more convenient length and periods, and fresh headings have been given to them. The text of the original edition has been pretty closely followed; some verbal changes to a limited extent have been made, to favour grammatical construction, and lessen the unnecessary repetition of some words and particles. The Editor has also been able, through the kindness of his friends, to introduce into this edition several very interesting unpublished letters of William Caton, which give additional information respecting his labours and

services ; they are nearly all from originals, which appear in very good legible hand-writing for that day : these, with a few other letters and quotations from published sources, are introduced within brackets, or otherwise described, to denote that they are the additions now made to the text of the first edition of the Author's Life.

The Journal of John Burnyeat is nearly a verbatim re-print of the first edition ; the chief variations may be stated to be in orthography and occasional division into more convenient paragraphs, with a very few verbal omissions, mostly of particles. This work has also been divided into chapters with headings, for the first time. A portion of the Epistles contained in the first edition are added : they are truly valuable and edifying. In several of these ancient epistles to the churches, from both of the above Authors, we often meet with exhortations and advice remarkably applicable to present times and recent trials in the Society.

The concluding Memoir concerning John Croker, now first put in print, has remained in manuscript during several generations, in the possession of the Fox family of the western counties of Devon

and Cornwall, into which family a sister of the author married. It is hoped that this Memoir will be perused with much interest and profit, more especially by the youth amongst us.

Since the publication of the last volume of the SELECT SERIES, the valuable and deeply devoted services of its Editor have been closed by his removal from works to rewards. Fervent were his desires, and earnest his exertions, to promote the religious welfare and edification of his fellow professors, as well as of others of every class, who loved "in sincerity" "our Lord Jesus Christ" and "His appearing." Had his life been spared, and strength bestowed, it is probable he would have added to the present work other volumes of interest and of worth. It is the desire of the undersigned (his brother), to be enabled to follow up, according to his limited qualifications, a publication which appears to have been acceptably received, and its circulation much encouraged by Friends.

A. R. BARCLAY.

*Leytonstone, near London,
Ninth Month, 1839.*

ERRATA.

Page 6, Line 16—*read* became *for* become.

„ 81, In the letter to Thos. Willan, 2nd line, *read*
omit *for* admit.

„ 130, In the lowest Epistle, *read* “ Dear Friends.”

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JOURNAL

OF THE

LIFE OF THAT FAITHFUL SERVANT

AND MINISTER OF THE

GOSPEL OF JESUS CHRIST,

WILLIAM CATON:

FIRST PUBLISHED IN THE YEAR 1689.

Second Edition.

TO WHICH ARE NOW ADDED, FROM ORIGINAL AND OTHER SOURCES,
SOME OF HIS LETTERS, MOST OF WHICH, IT IS BELIEVED,
HAVE NOT BEEN BEFORE PUBLISHED.

LONDON:

1839.

GEORGE FOX'S TESTIMONY

CONCERNING

WILLIAM CATON.

IN the year 1663, William Caton went to Holland, and not long after he had finished his testimony there, he died ; and soon after that, his wife died ; and he left this journal of passages* behind him, which was sent to me, which I thought fit to put in print and recommend to all that knew him. For after he was converted, he preached the Gospel of Christ, and strengthened his brethren. And you may see he was one like to the converted scribes in the kingdom of God, which bring forth things new and old. And he was one like unto Timothy, who was an example both in innocency, simplicity, and purity in his life and conversation, after he was converted ; for *that* did preach, as well as his doctrine, in the churches of Christ. And whereas many have made a boast and a talk of Truth in the beginning, that never knew what it was ; but in his relation, you may see both an example and a testimony of Truth in the beginning, and how for many years he travelled many weary steps on foot,

* [See Note, page 130.]

both in England, Scotland, and elsewhere, in the Lord's service. And his innocent life preached both righteousness and truth where he came; and was a good savour to God, and in the hearts of the people; and he was one that had a care of God's glory and honour, and the spreading of the Truth, and the prosperity of it; and in it he spent himself and finished his testimony; who, in his lifetime, wrote many precious epistles to Friends, besides several books. And in his travels he had many trials and exercises by false brethren, backsliders, and apostates, besides his perils by the sea, and among the priests and professors; but the Lord with his eternal arm and power gave him dominion over all. And as for his opposers, they withered and vanished away; and after he had finished his testimony, he died in the Lord, and is blessed, and rests from his labours, and his works follow him.

G. F.

*Gooses, [near Brentwood, Essex, his son-in-law
W. Mead's house,] 4th of Sixth month, 1688.*

LIFE OF WILLIAM CATON.

CHAPTER I.

The infinite mercy of the Lord God to him from his very infancy; how it was with him in the days of his youth: his introduction into Judge Fell's family at Swarthmore.

THE God of my salvation hath been pleased of his infinite love, to show mercy unto me from my very infancy unto this present day, and hath through a secret hand kept and preserved me from many of the evils in the world, which befall the children of men, and with which many of them are overcome; yea, from my very childhood hath he dealt exceeding gently, bountifully, and mercifully with me, and especially since he was pleased to make known his heavenly truth in me, and his eternal salvation unto me. How should I therefore forbear to show forth his praise, and to declare his wonderful works? to the end, that others may learn to fear and know him, to serve and obey him, that their souls may receive mercy from him as I have done, and that they may praise and magnify him in the land of the living,—who is God over all, the

Creator of all things ; to whom be glory, honour, and dominion for ever and ever.

When I was a child I was nurtured and tutored with such a fatherly care and motherly affection, as my parents at that day were endued with. While I was yet very young, my heart was inclining to wisdom and understanding : and being inspired with a divine principle, I did in those days sometimes feel the power of it overcoming my heart, and begetting tenderness in it towards my Creator, when I have stood musing upon his handiwork : and through this divine principle, I was much restrained from some evil vices which children are prone and incident to. But, alas, I knew not, that that which restrained me was within me, though I had a dread and fear upon me when I was liable to sin against my Creator ; which now I know right well, came through the aforesaid divine principle. Howbeit, I had also a fear upon me of reproof and chastisement from my parents, who according to their knowledge endeavoured to educate me in virtue and godliness ; and therefore did they instruct me to pray morning and evening, to read often, and to go frequently to hear that which they called the *Word of God*. And great was their care to bring me up in the fear of the Lord, according to their ability and understanding, as also in good fashion (as they called it) in the world ; therefore did they educate me in such schools as the country there did afford, and that for many years.

When I was about fourteen years of age, my father took me to Judge Fell's, there to learn with a kinsman (a priest) who was preceptor to the aforesaid judge's son ; and thereby I came to have an opportunity to be conversant with them that were

great in the world. And through the mercy of the Lord, I behaved myself so well among them as to the outward, that I found favour among the whole family, even from the greatest to the least of them; and was in due time promoted to be a companion night and day to the judge's son, and did eat as he did eat, and lodged as he lodged, and went after the same pleasure which he went unto, as to fishing, hunting, shooting, &c. In that day my heart was affected with my condition; forasmuch as Providence had cast me into such a noble family, where there were such sweet children, with whose company I was more than a little affected; and in much pleasure, ease and fulness, I lived with them as my heart could well desire. In those days there remained an integrity in my heart towards God, and often did I call upon his name: to that end, I would linger in the chamber, until the judge's son, with whom I lodged, was gone down, that afterwards I might go to prayer alone; for my soul desired to have the blessing and favour of the Lord, in which there was satisfaction to be found, but not in the pleasures which I followed, nor yet in the ease and fulness in which I then lived.

After we had learnt some time together in the judge's family, we were removed to a school in the country, at a place called Hawkshead; where I met with many temptations, and seldom good company, but such as were given to folly and wantonness. But the Lord was wonderfully gracious to me; and many times when I have deserved nothing but stripes from him, hath he broken and overcome my heart with his divine love; so that I have often stood admiring his wonderful mercy, his long-suffering, forbearance, and infinite goodness: for truly

had his compassion failed, I might have been destroyed in the sins of my youth: but blessed be his name for ever, he had mercy on me. And as Providence ordered it, we did not stay long at that school, but returned to Judge Fell's, where it was with me as before mentioned, so that I began to see pretty far into the depth of what the world could afford.

Being then about fifteen years of age, my heart was pretty much inclined after wisdom, as also to seek after knowledge; for in that family there was a great profession, and such as could speak of the Scripture, and could make repetitions of sermons, and paraphrase thereupon, were held in esteem: therefore I endeavoured much to retain the heads thereof, but when my memory would not serve me to do as some did in that particular, I used myself to write much after the priests: but that which I reaped thereby, could not give satisfaction to my soul, which at times hungered much after the Lord.

CHAPTER II.

1652.—*George Fox's first visit to Swarthmore; the tendency of his doctrine—W. C. leaves school, and becomes an inmate in the Fell family, as teacher and writer; the divine love and refreshment prevalent amongst them—Is moved to go into steeple-houses, markets, &c.—Quits Swarthmore.*

IN the year 1652, about the middle of the Fourth month, was that faithful messenger and servant of the Most High, by name George Fox, cast among

us, who declared unto us the way of life and peace. Of those in that family who believed his report, I was one, who came finally to be affected with his doctrine; though at the first I did as much admire at his non-conformity to our fashions, customs, and salutations, as strangers at this day admire at our non-conformity unto them; yet something in me did love him, and own his testimony. And I began to find the truth of what he spoke in myself; for his doctrine tended very much to the bringing of us to *the light, which Christ Jesus had enlightened us withal, which shined in our hearts, and convinced us of sin and evil*; and into love with that, and obedience to that, he sought to bring us, that thereby through the Son we might be brought into unity and covenant with the Lord.

And in due time the witness of God was awakened in me, whereby my sins came to be set in order before me; and it brought judgment and condemnation upon me by reason of them: but I, being as the wild heifer which is unaccustomed to the yoke, sought to get from under it, as I often did, until I came to know something of the power of God, which brought that wild nature in me, which was unaccustomed to the yoke, into subjection. And so good was the Lord unto me, that I had not long heard the Truth, when I came to be a witness of the power of it in myself; whereby the strong man was made to bow in himself, and the keepers of the house to tremble.

At that time I had not left the school, but did go along with Judge Fell's son thereto; and he being somewhat convinced of the same truth, and somewhat touched with the same power, it was the easier and the better for me: howbeit, we were

often wild, vain and wanton, and sported ourselves in folly, to the extinguishing of the good oftentimes in ourselves. But such was the love of God to me in those days, that I was as surely pursued with judgment, as I was overtaken with folly. Sometimes I would separate myself from the rest of my school-fellows, and get retired into some place, where I might wait upon the Lord, and ponder upon his marvellous works. When I was thus retired, and in singleness of heart waited upon the Lord, I received refreshment from him; but when I was drawn aside through the provocation of my companion, or the temptations of the wicked one in myself, then was I troubled and disquieted in my own heart.

In process of time my study become my burden; for when I was so much in trouble through the condemnation that was upon me, I was so much the more incapable of making themes, Latin verses, &c., neither could I well give unto the master the trivial compliment of the hat, for I was then convinced in my conscience of the vanity of it. My special friend Margaret Fell (the judge's wife) taking notice of my condition, was not willing to suffer me to go longer to the school than I was free, but caused me to stay at home to teach her children, and to go with her when she went abroad, and to write for her, &c., which was a happy time for me; for after that I left the school, I was also much exercised in writing of precious and wholesome things pertaining to the Truth; whereby I came to have good opportunities to be conversant with Friends, in whom the life of righteousness began to bud and spring forth, and who grew in love and unity, with which my soul was exceedingly affected;

and I desired very much to be one with them in it, that I might share with them therein, for my soul was delighted with it and in it, far beyond the pleasures and delights of this transitory world.

When I was about seventeen years of age, the power of the Lord God did work mightily and effectually in me, to the purging, cleansing, and sanctifying of me; and then I began to see something of the gloriousness of the ministration of condemnation, and of the goodness of the word of life, which was become *as a fire in my bones*, and *as a sword and hammer in my heart*. And then I began to be broken, melted, and overcome with the love of God, which sprang up in my heart, and with the divine and precious promises that were confirmed to my soul. Oh! the preciousness and excellency of that day! Oh! the glory and the blessedness of that day! how, or wherewith shall I demonstrate it? or by what means shall I explain it, that generations to come, and they that are yet unborn, might understand it, and give glory unto the Lord Jehovah?

Oh! the love which in that day abounded among us, especially in that family! and oh! the freshness of the power of the Lord God, which then was amongst us; and the zeal for Him and his truth, the comfort and refreshment which we had from his presence,—the nearness and dearness that was amongst us one towards another,—the openings and revelations which we then had! I confess I find myself insufficient to declare these things to the utmost; neither do I now intend to go about to describe the multitude of them particularly; for then I might make a larger volume by much, than now I am intending; but, my very heart is

affected with the remembrance of them at this very day.

In those days were meetings exceeding precious to us, insomuch that some few of us did commonly spend some time every night in waiting upon the Lord; yea, often after the rest of the family were gone to bed: and, oh! the comfort and refreshment which we had together, and the benefit which we reaped thereby, how shall I declare it! For if we had suffered loss in the day-time, when we had been abroad about our business or the like, then we came in a great measure thus to be restored again, through the love, power, and mercy of our God, which abounded very much unto us: howbeit, sometimes I was deprived of that sweet society (when my heart was with them) through my going to my bed so early with the judge's son, with whom I then did lodge; who for a season was tender and hopeful; but afterwards meeting with many temptations, his heart was drawn aside from the truth, and his mind ran after the delights and pleasures of this present world. When he was removed to another school, we came to be separated, which was at that time no disadvantage to me in one respect, though looked upon by some to be a disadvantage to me as to my outward preferment: but in that day I could have chosen much rather to have done any kind of labour pertaining to the house, with the servants that were in the truth, than to have enjoyed the delights of this world with this son, or any one else, for a season. For my delight was not then, so much as it had been, in the vain, perishing, and transitory things of the world, but my delight was then in the Lord, in his mercy and loving-kindness, and to be with his people; for the sake of whose company

I could have exposed myself to some pretty hard employment; neither was it then too contemptible for me to become as Amos, a keeper of cattle, or as Elisha, to follow the plough; for indeed in those days I did enjoy and possess that which made all things easy and light to me. And oh! the abundance of living refreshment, which I received from the Lord! it is hard for me to utter or declare the same to the utmost: for I was often overcome with the love of my Father, which did exceedingly break and ravish my heart, and so I know it was with others of that family; and of the overflowings thereof, did we communicate one to another, to the comforting and refreshing one of another: and truly willing we were to sympathize and bear one with another, to be helpful one unto another, and in true and tender love to watch one over another. And, oh! the love, mercy, and power of God, which abounded to us, through us, and among us, who shall declare it? And hence came that worthy family to be so renowned in the nation, the fame of which spread much among Friends: and the power and presence of the Lord being so much there with us, it was as a means to induce many, even from afar, to come thither; so that at one time there would have been Friends out of five or six counties: all which tended to the augmenting of my refreshment; for by reason of my much writing, it came to pass that I especially was much conversant with them, and thereby I had a privilege beyond others of my fellow-servants; for I was frequently with dear George Fox, who, as a tender-hearted father (after he had begotten me through the Gospel), sought to nurture me up in all wisdom, faithfulness, and righteousness, to the glory and praise of my heavenly

Father. And on the other hand was I cherished, and encouraged in the way of life, by my entirely beloved friend Margaret Fell, who as a tender-hearted nursing mother cared for me, and was as tender of me, as if I had been one of her own children: oh! the kindness, the respect, and friendship which she showed me, ought never to be forgotten by me.

When I had thus plentifully reaped of the mercy of the Most High, and his power had wrought so effectually in me, to the redeeming of my soul from death, then did his word of life begin to grow powerful in me: and seeing the darkness and ignorance so great, in which people were involved, my spirit was stirred within me, and my earthen vessel came to be filled with love to their souls, and with zeal for God and his truth. And about that time I began to know the motion of his power and the command of his spirit; by which I came to be moved to go to the places of public worship, to declare against the deceit of the priests, and the sins of the people, and to warn all to repent: for I testified to them that the day of the Lord was coming. But oh! the weakness, the fear and trembling in which I went upon this message,—who shall declare it? and how did I plead with the Lord concerning this matter: for I looked upon my own weakness and insufficiency, and how unfit I was in my own apprehension, to encounter with gainsayers, who I knew would also despise my youth. Howbeit, whatsoever I alleged by way of reasoning against the Lord concerning this weighty matter, I could not be excused; but I must go, and declare what he should give me to speak; and his promise was, he would be with me.

Wherefore when I saw it must be so, I put on courage in the name of the Lord ; and having faith in him, which stood in his power, I next gave up to his will, and went in obedience to his motion. And when I came to the place, behold, the consultations which before I had had, were gone, and the fear of man was departed from me ; and strength, and courage, and boldness, and utterance were given me, so that I became, through him that strengthened me, rather as a potent man than as a stripling, and that even in the face of the congregations. Howbeit, my testimony was by many little regarded, neither did they lay to heart what I declared among them ; but some as brute beasts fell upon me, and did much abuse me ; others pitied me and were much troubled for me ; and sometimes they were much divided among themselves, for some were for me, and others against me ; but in the midst of them the Lord was with me, and his mighty power did preserve me ; and when I had cleared my conscience among them, I returned in much peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, for my reward was with me.

After that the Lord had fitted me for his work as aforesaid, I was much exercised in going to steeple-houses, insomuch that there seldom passed a First day of the week, but I was at one or another ; and I was also often in markets, where I was moved to declare God's eternal truth, which through his infinite mercy I was become a witness of. And though when I went to such places as aforesaid, I seldom knew what I should say till I came there ; yet behold when I was to speak I never wanted words or utterance, to declare that which the Lord gave me to publish ; but oftentimes on the contrary I had fulness to my great admiration. And the

beating, buffeting, stocking, stoning, with the many reproaches which I went through in those days, were little to me; nay, not to be compared to the refreshment which I had through the enjoyment of the life, power, and love, which the Father had revealed in me, and by which I was carried through them and over them all. By how much the more the Lord tried me in those days, by so much the more I came to experience his loving-kindness to me.

And after that the Lord came to honour me with bearing his name, and accounted me worthy to bear my testimony, both in public and in private, to his eternal truth, I had much favour and respect from and among his people, whose love abounded much to me; and I being sensible thereof, was very much supported and strengthened thereby, in that service which God appointed for me, and called me unto in those days. When such service was over I returned again to the place of my residence, where I was diligent in my employment, until the Lord ordered me to other service again, either to meetings abroad on the first days of the week, or else to steeple-houses: and the Lord was with me, and his word of life did often pass powerfully through me, and never did I go about any service for the Lord, in which I was faithful, but I had always my reward with me.

When I returned again unto that honourable family, the place of my external abode, (I mean Judge Fell's at Swarthmore in Lancashire,) then was our refreshment very great together in the Lord, and with rejoicing did we speak together of his wonderful works, which were very marvellous in our eyes. And after I had had many glorious

days there, and seen many of the wonderful works of the Lord, in the fulness of time, according to the will of God, I was called out from among them, the Lord having other service for me abroad elsewhere. When it was the will of the Lord that I should go, the judge was much against it, being then very unwilling to part with me; but his dear wife, who could not well give me up before, was then made willing freely to resign me to the will of the Lord, especially upon so honourable an account; for I left not them to go to serve other men, but to publish the name of the Lord, and to declare his eternal truth abroad.

CHAPTER III.

1654.—*Leaving Swarthmore he travels southwards into Warwickshire and to Norwich, and afterwards to London; he and the brethren have great service in that city, &c.*

It was in the year 1654, in the Eleventh month, when I was about eighteen years of age, that I took my leave of that renowned family at Swarthmore. But, oh! the tears that were shed among us at our parting;—oh! the prayers and intercessions that were made to the Lord; and what deep impression our parting had upon our hearts, who can declare the same? So exceedingly were we united and bound up together, that it was very hard for us to part one with another. Howbeit, when we considered upon what account it was, and that notwithstanding our

then external parting, we should enjoy one another in the Lord, &c. then could we give up to the will of the Lord so much the better in the thing. Therefore according to the will of the Lord, in his name and power, I set my face southwards; and visited Friends in Lancashire, and in some parts of Yorkshire and Derbyshire, which counties I passed through into Warwickshire, to a place called Badgley; where I met with many of the brethren, who did dearly own the power, and the motion of it, by which I was drawn forth into that glorious work: and being very sweetly refreshed together, and confirmed in the faith and power of God, and encouraged to go on in that glorious and honourable service, I took my leave of them, and went on in the name and power of the Lord towards Norwich in Norfolk, (being accompanied with another Friend;) and coming to Wellingborough in Northamptonshire, we found several there newly convinced of the Lord's truth, with whom we were much refreshed. And being there the First day of the week, it was upon me to go to their steeplehouse, where I had some liberty (and but little) to declare the everlasting truth of God. After that I returned to the meeting of Friends, where the power and presence of the Lord God was with us; so that a very sweet, comfortable, and refreshing meeting we had. Howbeit, that day I and my companion were apprehended, and kept that night in custody; but the next day, as Providence ordered it, while the priest and some with him (as we were informed) were gone to get a warrant to bring us before a justice, we were by a certain officer released.

After that we travelled towards Cambridge, where

we had a very good opportunity to visit Friends; which having done, we passed on our journey towards Norwich. It being in the depth of winter, and we travelling altogether on foot, it was something hard to the outward man; but the Lord was with us, and his mighty power upheld us, and carried us through all, and through mercy we got finally well to Norwich; where there were several of our north country Friends in prison, whom we visited, and with whom we were sweetly refreshed.

In this city we had a very large meeting, unto which many people resorted; and the Lord was with me, and gave me a mouth and wisdom freely and powerfully to declare his living truth: at that time we were also in much jeopardy of being taken, but the Lord preserved us out of the hands of unreasonable men. At that city my companion left me, and returned towards the north; and after I had visited Friends and the brethren there, I went into the country, and had very good service for the Lord; and in a short time after I went to London, where I was very kindly received by Friends there, and we were refreshed together in the Lord.

Not long after, came several of the brethren to the city out of the north and other parts; and the mighty power of the Lord God was with us, and very much we were exercised, sometimes in steeple-houses, and sometimes in the meetings of Separatists: upon one First day I was at two of their steeple-houses in the forepart of the day, and at one of them I had large liberty to speak; and in the afternoon I was at a meeting of Professors, where there were six that spoke one after another; and afterwards I had liberty to speak freely among them

without opposition or contradiction from any of them, and afterwards I departed in peace.

About that time, the word of the Lord grew mightily in that city, and many were added to the faith; and many steeple-houses, and most of the meetings in the city were visited by some of the brethren; for at one time there were ten or twelve of us (the ministering brethren) in the city, most of us come out of the north, even plain, honest, upright men, such as the Lord was pleased to make use of in that day; and very diligent we were in his work night and day, labouring faithfully so much as in us lay, to exalt his name over all, and to make his truth and salvation known even unto all.

Many meetings we had about that time in the city, and I began to experience much of the faithfulness of the Lord to me, who furnished me according to necessity, and was pleased to give that which was suitable to the condition of the people, unto whom I was to communicate it.

About that time, I met with my dear brother John Stubbs, who was also come up to London out of the north; and though at that time we had little outward knowledge one of another, yet Providence did so order it, that we became companions and fellow-travellers together. And it was upon us to go into the country, partly towards Uxbridge; and at a certain place within a few miles of Uxbridge, we had very good service both in the steeple-house, and also at a meeting, which was ordered upon our coming to that place; and the Lord was with us, in whom we were strong, and our word powerful, though in our own eye we were weak, and con-

temptible in the eyes of many. And the priest being moved with envy, did stir up the people against us, so that through his means we were apprehended, and carried before a justice; but he being a moderate man, reasoned moderately with us, and perceiving our innocency, discharged us. Afterwards we returned to London again with joy and rejoicing, when we saw how the Lord had been with us, and how eminently he had appeared, (through us weak and contemptible vessels;) which we made known to the brethren at our return, who when they understood it, rejoiced with us.

CHAPTER IV.

1655.—*He travels with John Stubbs into Kent; they reach Dover, are haled before the Magistrates—Luke Howard,—his boldness in their service—They proceed to Hythe and other places; —are cruelly treated at Maidstone.*

WE staid some time after this in the city, where we had exceeding good service for the Lord; and afterwards it was upon us to go into Kent towards Dover, which accordingly we did (upon the 13th day of the First month, 1655,) in much weakness and fear, we being but young in the truth, and hearing of such wise professing men in those parts; howbeit in the faith we went on, having confidence in God, who had been with us, and who was with us.

In due time we got to Dover, where we were as pilgrims and strangers, not knowing the face of any in the town. After we had walked awhile in the streets, (being very much pressed and burdened in our spirits,) we took up our lodging at an inn or ale-house ; where we had been but one night, when the mayor came to us, (having heard something of such men being in town,) and he examined us : it being on a First day in the morning, he would have had us secured for that day, but having nothing against us, he could not well bring his purpose to pass.

After he left us, it was upon me to go to the steeple-house, where I had but little liberty to speak before I was haled out ; but in the yard I had some more liberty to clear my conscience to the people. As for my dear companion J. S. he was at the same time at the meeting of the Anabaptists (so called :) and in the after part of the day, he was at the other steeple-house, and I was moved to go up to the castle to the meeting of the Independents (so called,) so that by that day's service the report of us went not only through the town, but also into the country, and of the truth which we bore testimony of. And shortly after, we had liberty to have a meeting in the Baptists' Meeting-place, unto which many people resorted ; and the Lord was with us, and gave us a mouth and wisdom, not only powerfully to declare, but also zealously to contend for the everlasting truth, which was then much opposed and gainsayed both by professors and profane : howbeit, some began to adhere unto it, and to be affected with it, and then did the enmity begin to work in the hearts of the people against us : and we

were haled before the magistrates, who examined us, and did use much means to get the town cleared of us, and therefore ordered that none should entertain us upon a certain penalty ; whereupon we were turned out of our lodging. But the Lord raised up one Luke Howard, (a shoemaker,) who was become so loving to us, and so bold and valiant, that he undertook to entertain us in his house, (notwithstanding their order ; where we abode several days, and had afterwards a meeting or meetings in his house ; and several at that time came to be convinced of the truth, whom we commended to the grace of God and left them.*

* [The following account is given by Luke Howard in his Journal, of his first meeting with William Caton, and of his visit to Dover. After describing the bewildered state of his own mind, and that he could find no trodden path, and no man to lead him out of the wilderness, Luke Howard informs us, he went up to London in 1654-5 ; and on a First day he went to hear "one Cardwell, in Lombard-street ; and when he had done, there stood up a young man newly come out of the north country, his name was William Caton ; who sounded an alarm out of Zion, and proclaimed the Gospel of peace : but at that time it seemed to me like the priest's preaching ; my mind then being more abroad after visible things, than within after invisible : which made me say to my companion, ' come, let us begone to dinner,' (not staying till he had done ;) ' for I know as much as he can tell me, or more than I or he either can live in ;' thus making myself a judge of his life and doctrine, which I knew not : and so I turned my back upon the truth, as too many do. The after part of the day we spent our time in walking in the fields ; and the week following I got home. The next First day afterwards, one meets me in the street, and tells me there was a Quaker preaching in the churchyard, who was the same aforementioned William Caton. At which I immediately went to see what manner of man that Quaker was : and when I saw him, my heart smote within me, and I was more reached with his bare person in Dover, than with his person and words too

[The following letter copied from the original, found in a valuable private collection of letters formerly from Swarthmore, may be also interesting to the reader.]

“ John Stubbs and W. Caton to F. H. & E. B.
(Howgil and Burrough.)

“ Dear hearts, Francis and Edward,

“ We came into Dover upon the Seventh day in the last week, being the market-day, towards night, and passed to and again through the streets and in the market-place, though we had nothing given us to speak there ; then at night we took up a chamber, and we were known to no man by face. The next morning the mayor and

in London. And I was made a safeguard to him from the boys and rude spirits that offered him abuse. And when he had borne his testimony, he passed away. I then took notice where he went in, and at night, Nicodemus like, I went to see him : I was lothe to go in the day, and would fain have got company to have gone with me, but could not, so I went alone ; and then met with him and his dear companion John Stubbs, who had been at the other steeple-house.—I believe the Lord stirred me in my mind to go to see them. I found them eating a little bread with beer, without anything to sweeten or relish it. So I asked them to go out with me ; and we went to a professor's (Baptist,) who conversed with them much, and agreed to have a meeting the next day in the Baptist's meeting-house, which was performed.—[After which] many followed them to their inn, as wonderers and gazers, and some to oppose. Then the rulers of the town sent to the innkeeper to turn them out of his house, or else they would pluck down his sign. So the innkeeper spoke to me, because he saw that I took most their parts, and desired me to tell them, which I did : but I also said to John and William, ‘ go home to my house, for I care not for the rulers nor mayor either.’ So they went with me, and the fifth day following we had a great meeting at my house : and their testimony was to me as John the Baptist's was to Herod, who heard him gladly, and as Paul's was to Agrippa, who was almost persuaded to be a Christian : for I was convinced in my judgment, and their testimony was to me as a pleasant song : so the meeting ended, and all passed away in quiet.”—He then describes his refusing to

some of his attendants came to our lodging, and examined us from whence we came, &c.—he was much troubled that we did not bow to him, and [said] we should be secured as vagrants. Then we were had before a captain, who is one of the separate teachers ; he with this mayor was very exact in examining of us severally ;—they asked us for letters,—we had papers,—they saw them, and gave us them again. We had our liberty with a charge from the mayor that we should be of good behaviour. After our departure from them, one of us went in the forenoon to a steeple-house, and the other to a Baptist meeting. William was pulled down in the steeple though with little violence, but had his liberty to speak in the yard. I had as much liberty amongst the Baptists as I could desire ; I saw a seed amongst them : a few words were spoken ;—great was the power that spoke. In the afternoon, William went to the castle where the garrison is, and there the captain was much opposite, but the soldiers were willing to hear. I went to a steeple-house of Independents : here are many high airy spirits as ever I met with, both in the fort and in the town. Oh ! who is sufficient to encounter with such a generation ! There was a captain in that Baptist-meeting and his wife who

give up these Friends, when applied to by the constables sent to his house by the mayor, &c. “The next day at my house again, we had a good and blessed meeting I may say ; in which these words were delivered, viz.—that notwithstanding men’s profession of religion, the body of death is yet standing in them.” He then states that the witness within was answered, and he became sensible of his own dark condition and state of mind ; so that it seemed to him to be the Lord’s work “to show me myself, and that I was but death and darkness, and to empty me thereof ; that so he might fill me from his own fulness of grace and truth, even the life of Christ Jesus, in whom alone he is well pleased. Then did my two friends and fathers in the truth pass out of town, and I went two or three miles with them ; and they took in writing the names of some towns and men along the sea-coast :—and all whose names I gave received them ; at which time Samuel Fisher was one. After I left them, my sorrow was great, and my tears many ; so that I had much ado to get and keep my eyes dry, when I came back to Dover.”]

sent for us to their lodging upon the First day at night, and some others were there; there is a conviction upon them both, but especially upon him, he commands a castle betwixt this place and Maidstone; he is a very moderate, plain-hearted man; he was very attentive at the meeting when I was there. There come frequently from the castle and from the town to our lodging some rich and some poor;—pray that we may be kept in the discerning state. This day the post-master told us they desired to have a private meeting with us; there is something kindled amongst them; the man is of a temperate spirit, and very hopeful. Another, a shoemaker, one Howard, who hath been a Baptist (and his wife,) as he says this ten or eleven years, but hath no rest,—he is clearly convinced. A fire is kindled amongst them, which cannot suddenly be quenched. They are rich and very full, and now they are afraid to come to a loss; we shall endeavour to get a meeting among them, and so clear our consciences to them. Let us hear from you as shortly as you can, and we would have you to send us a dozen of some sorts of books which you think would be serviceable, and we shall endeavour to get money for them. You may direct them to be left at Luke Howard's, the shoemaker, in Dover, to be conveyed to us. And the post-master is loving towards us, but we are at an inn in the town, where many are free to come to see us. So our dear love to all our dear friends with you. We remain your brethren, &c.

“JOHN STUBBS, WILL. CATON.

“We would have you to show this to G. (doubtless George Fox.)

“Dover, 19th of 1st mo. 1654.”]

(*This letter is addressed “For his dearly beloved friends Francis Howgil or Edward Burrough, at Justice Hubbert's house, in Moorfields, London.”*)

After that we went thence to a town called Foulstone [Folkestone,] where we were kindly received by one Thomas Nichols, his wife and others,—and some good meetings we had there; the priest of the

town and many others being present at some of them : and the witness of God was truly reached in some, and some were convinced of the truth, and received it in the love of it. I was also at their steeple-house, but was uncivilly treated there, and but suffered to speak little, until I was turned out violently by a rude fellow ; but some that were simple and moderate were troubled thereat.

When we were pretty clear of that town, we travelled towards Hythe, and in our way thither we went into a castle which stood by the sea-side, [Sandgate Castle,] where we were kindly received both by the captain and his wife ; there we had a meeting or two among the soldiers and others, and after that we went to the aforesaid Hythe : and it was upon us to go to their public place of worship, which we did ; but soon after one of us began to speak, we were violently haled out, but preserved through the hand of the Lord, from being much harmed by the rude multitude. It was much noted, how that he who was the most violent against us, had afterwards in a short time, some remarkable judgment which befel him.

In that town the Baptists allowed us the use of their meeting-room, and at the first were pretty moderate and civil to us, but afterwards they became (or some of them) our great opposers ; howbeit some there were in that place who believed and received our testimony.

Then we went from that town further into the country, and were at Romney and Lydd, where there were many high professors, and among the rest one Samuel Fisher, a very eminent and able pastor among the Baptists ; and it was upon me to

go to the meeting of the Independents, and upon my dear brother, to go to the meeting of the Baptists, where he had good liberty; the aforesaid S. F. had been speaking among them, but (as it appeared) was so much affected with John's doctrine, that after John had done, Samuel began with his wisdom to paraphrase upon it with excellency of speech, thereby to set it forth in his apprehension beyond what John had done: at the meeting where I was, they would scarce allow me any liberty to clear my conscience among them. After that, we had meetings in both places; and being one time at a meeting in the street at Lydd, (for the Friend's house would not contain the multitude,) the magistrates, or some of them, sent to the aforesaid Samuel Fisher, (who was also present at the meeting,) to tell him that we might have the church-door (as they called it) opened to go in thither, but we refused to accept of it, and chose rather to continue our meeting in the street. The aforesaid S. F. believes our report, with several more in those two towns, who were convinced of the truth of God, which had not in those parts been declared by any Friend before.

We were also up in the country about Ashford and Tenterden, and had great meetings, and strong contests with professors, who did much oppose us, especially in those two towns; howbeit some we found who were simple and tender-hearted in most places where we got meetings. We were also at Cranbrook and Staplehurst, where we found a very open people, who were very ready to receive, and to embrace the everlasting truth, which we freely and powerfully (according to our measures received)

administered unto them, in the power and demonstration of the eternal Spirit; and several large and precious meetings we had among them, and the power and presence of the Lord God were much with us, in which we rejoiced together, freely distributing of the word of life unto them, which at that time dwelt richly and plenteously in our hearts; and as we had received it freely, so we did dispense the same freely. For though there were those that would have given us both gold and money, which some would even have forced upon us, yet we had not freedom to receive one penny of them; for we told them it was not theirs but them which were sought: and many were convinced and much affected with the truth, which with joy and gladness they received. And among them, as at other places, we sought to settle and establish meetings, and to bring those that were convinced to wait upon the Lord in silence, in that light of life in themselves, which we turned them unto; to the end that they might enjoy the substance of what they had professed. And accordingly meetings came to be settled in most of the places before-mentioned, which they that were convinced kept up after our departure.*

After that, we were moved to go to a great town

* [Dover Friends were among the first that set this noble example of gathering in the name of Him, who promised to be in the midst of them, and who was found to be the faithful and true witness unto them.

"I may also acquaint you a little how things were with us in our first convincement and meetings, after we came to sit down to wait upon the Lord in silence; which was our practice for some years, except some travelling Friend came amongst us. I can truly say, the Lord was our teacher, and his presence and power were manifested

called Maidstone; and it being on a First day of the week, we were in the fore part of the day at a meeting of the people called Baptists in the country; and after we had declared the way of salvation among them, we left them and went to the town aforesaid. When we came there, it was upon my dear brother J. S. to go to their public place of worship, and it was upon me to go to the meeting of the Independents, which accordingly we did; and John was taken at their steeple-house, and I the day following at my inn, and were both sent to the House of Correction, (so called,) where we were searched, and had our money, and our ink-horns, and Bible, &c. taken from us; and afterwards we were stripped, and had our necks and arms put in the stocks, and in that condition were desperately whipped; and afterwards we had irons and great clogs of wood laid upon us, and in that condition they would have compelled us to have wrought, saying, he that would not work should not eat, &c. Forasmuch as they had dealt so wickedly with us, and that without any just cause, neither could they justly charge us with the breach of any law, we were not free to consent so far unto their cruel wills as to do their work; and therefore did they keep us without victuals for some days,

amongst us, when no words have been sounded in our outward ears: for several of us, and at several times, in these meetings, have felt the power of the Lord, that hath made our outward bodies tremble as well as our hearts: and great fear and reverence took hold of my heart; and the Lord confirmed his truth in me from day to day, and answered my doubts, and settled my faith by and in his power."—*Luke Howard's Collection of Writings*, 1704, p. 29.]

only a little water once a day we had allowed us: he that committed us, and was the chief agent in cruelty against us, was a noted Presbyterian. And though the malefactors that were there, would have given us of their bread, yea, the women of the house being moved with compassion towards us, would have given us something privately, but we were not free at that time to accept of either, until that they (by whose order provision was kept from us,) did give consent that it should be brought in to us; which finally he or they did: many in the town began to be offended at their cruelty, which they manifested towards us. And when they, who sought to bow us to their wills, were made to bow by the power of God, we were free to receive victuals for our money, and did eat and were refreshed.*

* [The following particulars, in addition to those given above, are obtained from some early records of Friends of East Kent.

“William Caton being brought before the magistrate, was examined where he dwelt, and how long it was since he came from his outward being, and what way he came; with more of the like questions. William answered, he came from London. The magistrate asked what he did while he continued in London? William said, in making known the everlasting truth, as he was moved of the Lord; turning people from darkness to the light; that with the light they might see themselves, and be brought to repentance, &c. Then the magistrate told him, he had a master for him, and that he should be set on work, and be bound unto him for so much a year, &c. But William refused to be bound to man, or to be in bondage to any; saying, he was in the work and service of the Lord, and could not go out of the Lord's service to be a slave to man.”

This early record then describes their cruel treatment in nearly similar terms as in the journal above, though sometimes more minutely. After being sent out of the town, they passed into the hands of many constables, (W. C. being separated from his friend;) the account then states, that

The next day following, (after their cruelty seemed to be abated,) they sent an officer, who did make restitution of some of our things again which they had taken from us, but burned several good wholesome papers and letters; afterwards they parted us, and with officers conveyed us out of the town, one at the one end of it, and the other at the other, which was no small trial to us to be so separated. Afterwards we were conveyed from one officer to another in the country, and in that manner sent towards our habitations in the north: but when I had been in the hands of about twelve of them, they began to grow careless of their order, and finally suffered me to travel alone, which accordingly I did towards London.

The day following I got well up to London, where I was more than a little refreshed with the brethren; and there I met with my dear companion J. S. again to our great refreshment. And behold it came presently upon us to return to the town of Maidstone again, and into that country, which was no small trial to us; however to the will of the Lord we gave up, and returned again within two or three

these officers began to grow careless of their order, and at length left them in the highways,—their heavenly images and sober lives and words preached so much to them, that they finally suffered them to travel alone whither they pleased. The record continues to give account of their returning to Maidstone, &c., and adds, before they got to Dover again, the report of their wicked usage at Maidstone came to the ears of the mayor of Dover; who meeting with Luke Howard, said, 'Luke, I hear your friends have been at Maidstone, and been whipped: we did not deal with them so badly here.' 'No,' said L. H. 'but you dealt with them worse than you should.' So in a little time came William Caton and J. Stubbs again to Dover, where they, with Friends, enjoyed their meetings peaceably: many being convinced."—*MS. of Friends of East Kent.*

days. When our grand persecutor at Maidstone heard of our return again, he sent a hue and cry after us, and it being gotten eight miles into the country, the officer came into a Friend's house where we had lodged, but were then at another place; and it being on a First day in the morning we went to their steeple-house, but the officer was not then there; so Providence did so order it, at that time we were preserved out of their hands. Afterwards we passed through the country, visiting the brethren that had received the Gospel, who were confirmed in the faith, and the more so through our patient suffering. We were also at Canterbury where we had exceeding good service, especially among the Baptists and Independents so called; for we were at their meetings, and had pretty good liberty to declare the truth of God amongst them, and some there were that received our testimony in that place also, who were convinced of the truth, so that there came to be a meeting settled there. We were likewise at Sandwich where I had some service in particular among the Dutch people at their steeple-house, but at that time the truth could get but little entrance in that place.

CHAPTER V.

1655.—*He visits Calais in France—returns to Dover—Travels to Yarmouth, and afterwards into the North—With John Stubbs sails to Holland; their labours in that country—returns to England.*

UPON the 12th of the Fourth month, 1655, it was upon me to go over to Calais in France, which accordingly I did from Dover. When I came there, and saw the place so much given to idolatry, my spirit was very much burthened and pressed within me: and in the power of the Lord I went to their high place of worship, where some were worshipping before their dumb idols: and I walked through by them, but could not well ease myself with words to them, because they could not understand me, neither could I then understand their language; but the Lord afterwards made way for me to ease my spirit, and to clear my conscience among some of them. For after I had been some little time in the place, it came to be known to some of the chief of the city, who desired to see me, and to speak with me, and some of them came down in person to the quay to look for me, and understanding I was aboard, I was called ashore, and was afterwards conveyed through private places, for fear of the rude multitude, (as he told me that was appointed to convey me,) to a great house, where several of the great ones were gathered together, to see me, hear me, and to speak with me; so that I

had a very gallant opportunity to declare the truth among them. And a certain Scotch lord (so called) was the interpreter; and precious dominion the Lord was pleased to give me over their vain lights, frothy minds and spirits, which were very much addicted to lightness and vanity. When I had had this opportunity to clear my conscience among them, they suffered me to depart in peace. And soon after I was clear, and free to return again for England, which I did, and found my dear companion J. S. at Dover.

About that time it was upon John Stubbs to go to Holland, and I was made very free in the Lord to accompany him; however some good service we had afterwards in the country, in our return towards Gravesend; and from thence we went to Colchester, and so to Yarmouth in Norfolk. And indeed as to the outward we were poor and feeble, yet full of power and strong in the Lord, and were very provident and sparing in our expenses, of which I could say more than here I am free to insert; yet nevertheless the Lord did enable us to travel day after day, and many a mile upon a day, notwithstanding our keeping of our bodies so much under. Neither did we in those days want for money, of which we might have had plenty given us; but our hearts being clear and free from coveting of that, (as the Lord well knows,) we kept ourselves therefore clear and free of it; for as we had received freely, so we were as willing to give freely, and that little which we had, the Lord did sanctify and bless to us, and our reward we had always with us, in whatsoever place or condition we were.

After we came to Yarmouth, we waited there and in the country thereabouts the most part of

three weeks for a passage for Holland; and finally an opportunity of a ship seemed to present, as also of wind; so we got aboard (though not without some difficulty) in the roads: but presently after the master came aboard, and perceiving what we were, he would not carry us, but forced us ashore again; which disappointment (after we had waited so long) was no small trial to us. When we saw there was little likelihood of our getting passage from thence for Holland, we determined to go for the north; and after we had waited some time longer there, we got passage for Sunderland, having no small weight upon us, which was the heavier, because it was reported in the nation among Friends, that we were gone over-sea.

When we came into the north, I had much desire in me to go to see my dear and near relations in the Lord at Swarthmore and thereabouts, and Providence did so order it that I had an opportunity. Oh! the refreshment which we had at our meeting, and during the time I staid among them, it would be hard for me to declare it to the utmost: and dear M. F. (who had been as a tender-hearted nursing mother unto me,) was refreshed to hear how the Lord had been with me, how he had blessed my labours, and prospered his work in my hand; for all which mercies, together with many more, we returned unto the Lord his praise, his due, and with joyful hearts offered unto him the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.

When I had staid some little time there (in which I was refreshed both in soul and body,) it was upon me to return again, to endeavour to accomplish the aforesaid intended journey to Holland; and when the time of my departure was come, I

took my leave of them with much brokenness of heart, in which I also left them ; and visiting other Friends, I returned again into the bishoprick, where I had left my dear companion. Afterwards we had some precious meetings in those parts, (which together with those we had had before) were of no small service : and being pretty clear of those parts, we sought again to find out an opportunity for Holland.

Coming to the Shields, we heard of a ship that was intended for Flanders, which, though it was in the King of Spain's dominions, and pretty wide from Holland, yet we were willing to go along with her, hoping to get passage from thence ; so going aboard of the aforesaid ship, we got finally through mercy to Yarmouth Roads again, where we found another ship that was intended for Flushing in Zealand, which being nearer unto Holland than Flanders, we embarked in her ; and in due time, through the mercy of the Lord, we arrived well at Flushing ; where we came among a people of a strange language, among whom we had been but a little time, when our spirits were stirred within us by the power of the Lord ; through which we were moved to proclaim his mighty day, and to publish his eternal truth, in and through their streets, whether they could understand or no ; which we did, and his power and presence were with us. At that time no man laid hands upon us ; so after we had unburthened our spirits, by easing them of the weight that was upon them, through obeying the Lord, we returned to our lodging again.

When the First day of the week came, it was upon us to go to the congregation of the English and Scotch, which accordingly we did ; and when we

came there, many gazed upon us and wondered at us, because of our non-conformity to them. But after we began to speak, they were much stirred, some with fury and rage, and others with admiration; but withal, they would not suffer us to speak much, but hurried us out with great indignation, and some violence was offered to us: howbeit the Lord preserved us, so that we received but little harm from them,—blessed be his name for evermore!

The same day we went to another great city called Middleburgh, and got thither before their afternoon's devotion was ended. When we came there, it was upon us to go to the meeting-place where the English and Scotch did meet, where we waited until the priest had done; afterwards one of us began to speak, but the priest would not suffer us, imagining at the first, (before he understood us well,) that we had come a begging to the congregation: but when he perceived the contrary, he and others were so much the more against us, and some especially were very violent, and did beat me much; and indeed had not the Lord been with us, and preserved us through his mighty power, they might have done us much mischief; but blessed be the Lord, he was our keeper and preserver.

After that, the priest sent for us to his house, and reasoned awhile with us; but he was of such a lofty and ambitious spirit, (as many of that generation are,) that the truth could have little entrance in him, or entertainment from him. After we had had other good service in the city, and were become pretty clear of it, we embarked for Rotterdam in Holland; where, after some difficulty and hardship sustained, we arrived through the mercy of the

Lord ; but did not know the face of any in that city. When we had been some few days in the city, it was known to several, and after some time we got a meeting at an English merchant's house, unto which many merchants (especially) came, both Dutch and English : but oh ! how did we suffer for want of a good interpreter ; for he that interpreted for us not being true and faithful, as to interpret our words according as we spoke them, but sometimes otherwise, the hearers or some of them especially, came rather to be incensed against us, than to be won or gained to the truth ; howbeit, the witness of God in some, answered to the truth of our testimony. But forasmuch as there had been no Friend before to declare the truth among them in that city, it was looked upon as so much the stranger thing, and we were so much the more wondered at ; but in due time, when we had cleared our consciences, and borne a faithful testimony unto God's truth in that place, we departed thence and returned again for Zealand, where we took shipping for England.

After we had waited some time for the wind, we had an opportunity of sailing, but met with a very sore storm at sea ; howbeit the Lord preserved us, and we got well to Burlington (Bridlington), in Yorkshire, but were not permitted to go into the town, because we were come from Holland, where (it was said) the sickness then was ; nevertheless we saw our Friends, and were refreshed in seeing one another. Soon after we set sail again, and when we came near Hartlepool (the wind blowing very hard) we lost our foremast, and were in some apparent danger ; but the Lord was pleased to preserve us then also, and to assuage the violence of the boisterous waves through his mighty power, in which we put our

confidence. And when through mercy we were gotten well ashore, we went up into the country among Friends, with whom we were more than a little refreshed in the Lord. And after I had had several meetings in the bishoprick [Durham], I went again into Lancashire, and coming to Swarthmore, I was received with joy again in the Lord, in whom our refreshment was very great, and a very precious time we had afterwards together, whereby my very life was much revived ; and therefore did my soul magnify the Lord, with the rest of his lambs and babes in that place.

CHAPTER VI.

1655.—*Visits Scotland, passing through Northumberland—Has good service for the Lord at Edinburgh and Glasgow—Returns to Swarthmore, and proceeds to Cheshire.*

IT was not long after this, that I took my leave of that blessed family, for I was to go for Scotland, towards which nation we had felt some drawings, before we were clear of that service beyond the sea. Having taking my leave in abundance of love of my dearly beloved friends at Swarthmore, I went through Westmorland, and had some good meetings among Friends there, which at that time was of good service. Upon the 12th of the Ninth month, 1655, I went towards the bishoprick, in order to my going into Scotland ; and when I came into the bishoprick, I met with my dear companion John Stubbs again ; and when we had visited the brethren and

Friends in those parts, and had been truly refreshed together in the Lord, we went afterwards into Northumberland; in some parts of which we had very good service, especially in the country about Morpasse [Morpeth?]

About the beginning of the Tenth month, 1655, we were at Berwick; and upon the market day, it was upon us to go into their market, where we had some good service. And upon the First day following, I was moved to go into their great assembly, where none of our Friends had been, but such as had been imprisoned and afterwards put out of the town. Nevertheless, I was not therefore to be discouraged, but went in boldly in the name and power of the Lord; and when the priest had done, I stood up upon a stall, but none seemed to make such haste to get away as the priest; however, my mouth was opened in much power, and the Lord was pleased to give me much courage and boldness, and *indifferent good* liberty I had to declare the truth. When I had done, the mayor met me at the door, and took me by the hand, and delivered me to the sergeants; but afterwards I was brought before the mayor and magistrates, and further examined by them, who finally ordered that I should be turned out of the town, which also came to pass. In the afternoon I was at a steeple-house in the country, where I spoke to the priest; but he was furious, and called me *mad-man*, and bid the people have me to the stocks, and bind me hand and foot, with more such like expressions; but none of the people would obey him, but gathered pretty generally about me, and were pretty willing to hear the truth declared,

though they were a sottish ignorant people. Afterwards I could not well get any lodging among them for my money; and in the interim when I was wandering up and down, as being destitute of a place to lay my head, or to rest and refresh myself in, there came a man out of Berwick to me, and I went along with him; and the guard suffered me to pass very freely into the town again, where I met with my dear companion John Stubbs again, who had also been in great service that day, in the forenoon among the Baptists, and in the afternoon of that day he did supply the meeting which we had appointed; so that day we had exceeding good service, and staid afterwards some few days in that town, and had another meeting or two there.

Afterwards we travelled from thence into Scotland, towards Edinburgh; and though our travails were great, and our sufferings many, (both in the inward and outward man,) yet the Lord by his mighty power supported us, and carried us through them all: and that which made them the easier to us, and made us the more capable *to dispense with them*, was the extraordinary love and unity in which the Lord preserved us; insomuch that I do believe scarce any of the brethren, that travelled abroad upon the same honourable account, ever agreed better than we did, or were more mutual in their service, and in other things incident to travellers, than we; and therefore were our travels and sufferings so much the more easy to us, through him that blessed us, and with the right hand of his righteousness supported us;—to whom be glory, honour and dominion for ever and ever!

When we came at Edinburgh, we found things

somewhat out of order there, through the unfaithfulness of some that were convinced of the truth, but who did not order their conversation aright, neither did they live as became the Gospel; which we endeavoured to rectify among them, as much as was possible; and the word of the Lord was effectual through us among them, to the bringing of them into better order.

After we had been some time together in that city, it was upon my dear brother to go to some other places, as to Burnt Island, to Ayr, &c., and afterwards to return to England again: so we parted in the fulness of endeared love, with much brokenness of heart. After we parted I staid several weeks in that city, [Edinburgh,] being accompanied by another dear brother John Slee by name: and many gallant meetings we had in the city, especially upon the Castle-hill, where many hundreds heard the truth of God in much power and plainness; and often was the witness of God reached in many, and many were made to confess unto the truth; so that extraordinary good service we had for the Lord: for we did not only keep our meetings upon the aforesaid public place, but also we often had meetings at one William Osborne's, who formerly had been a Lieutenant-Colonel, but was then become very zealous for the Lord's truth. And upon one time especially, it was upon me to go to their high place of worship (the chiefest in the city,) which accordingly I did; and after the priest had done, I spoke to the people, but was not suffered to speak much, until I was carried out with the press of the multitude, which was indeed extraordinary great. And when I came out in the street, there

was a guard of soldiers set in readiness to secure me from the multitude, and to conduct me to the place where I desired to be, which they did with their drawn swords; and after that I went in peace to the meeting of Friends.

I was also about that time with General Monk, (so called,) who was seemingly moderate, and did hear me, and received such papers from me as I had to deliver to him.

I was also at Stirling; and at my going into the city, was carried to the main guard, and from thence I was sent to the governor, who at first was high with me; but when I had spoke a little to him, and had given him something to read he became more moderate: and I went from his house to the English chaplain's house, who was very moderate and kind in his way towards me. After I had had good service among them, I went to Glasgow, another great city; and it was upon me to go to their great cathedral, where three congregations did meet at once: and after they had all done, I had some liberty to speak to the multitude in the yard, for the rude people were kept very much under by the English soldiers, who were pretty moderate towards me, so that very good service I had at that time in that city.

I was at another place called Douglas, where I had exceeding good service, both in the steeple-house and elsewhere; but the priest caused me to be turned out of my lodging, and did what he could to hinder me from having any entertainment in the town; but some that lived a little from the town, were willing to receive me into their house.

Thus after I had had such exceeding good ser-

vice both in the city of Edinburgh, and at the places aforementioned, I was pretty free to return again to England, which accordingly I did.

When I came back into England, I visited Friends in my return both in Northumberland and in the bishoprick [Durham], and had some good service among them, especially in the bishoprick; and afterwards I visited Friends again in Westmorland, and in due time got well back to Swarthmore, where I was received as formerly, even in the fulness of dear and precious love; and I found the power and the presence of the Lord with them as formerly, and therefore was our refreshment together again as it was wont to be. And I could truly say, it was good to be there: but the Lord having much service for me abroad elsewhere, I could not stay long there, before I was constrained to travel again in the work and service of the Lord. For about the middle of the First month, anno 1656, it was upon me, and another dear brother, William Simpson, to go down into Lancashire and Cheshire, &c. to visit Friends, which accordingly we did; and many precious and serviceable meetings we had, and the Lord's heavenly power and presence was much with us, and very good service we had both at Warrington and Manchester; and I was at the great Independent congregation at Stopard [Stockport?] but Eaton their great pastor caused them presently to take me away, so that I had very little liberty among them. Afterwards I went to the meeting at Manchester, and my companion was moved to go to the steeple-house, but had little liberty to speak, for he was taken thence, and was turned out of the town, as he had been twice the day before: but that night he came in again, and we had a good meeting in

the town, as I had had the night before at Stopard. And the next day many people followed us, through William's speaking at the end of the town, and there I had a favourable opportunity to declare God's truth among them and to them; which they heard with pretty much moderation and attention. Upon the Third day following, we had a meeting at a place called Sunderland, and upon the Fourth day another meeting four miles from thence, and upon the First day, we had a good general meeting within four miles off Northwich; yea, night and day we laboured in the work and vineyard of our heavenly Father, and our reward was with us.

But it happened that we were put in prison at a place called Congleton in Cheshire; we remained there in prison some few days, when Providence did so order it, that we were again released. Time would fail me to relate particularly the extraordinary good service which we had at that time in Cheshire, Lancashire, and at Leek in Staffordshire; sometimes in steeple-houses, sometimes in streets and markets, and night and day frequently in meetings. And in due time we were made free in the Lord to return again, after we had spent several weeks as aforesaid; and always when I returned unto Swarthmore, it was to me a place of refreshment.

CHAPTER VII.

1656.—*Attends a general meeting in Leicestershire—Again visits Scotland; has good meetings at Edinburgh, Leith, Stirling, &c.—Returns to Swarthmore, and proceeds to Bristol and into Cornwall—Visits George Fox in Launceston gaol.*

ABOUT this time (as I remember) I took a journey into Leicestershire to a great general meeting which was appointed, unto which many of the brethren resorted, and among the rest there was dear G. F. whom I much desired to see: and a very gallant and precious meeting it was; and afterwards I had some precious time with the brethren, and took my leave of them, and returned again into Lancashire. But I had not been long there, when it was upon me to go into Cumberland and Scotland again; whereupon I took my leave of Friends in those parts, and went towards Cumberland: and on the 4th day of the Third month, 1656, I was at a meeting at Ambleside close by the chapel, and several of the people were with us after the priest had done. In the afternoon I was moved to go into the chapel among them, but they were exceeding violent against me, and seemed to thirst much after my blood, for they fell upon me, as if they would have torn me to pieces; but their power was limited, and I was preserved in the arms of the Lord, and indued with much courage and boldness to declare the everlasting truth among them.

Afterwards I went into Cumberland, where I

had several good and precious meetings among Friends, to the confirming of them in the truth, and to my great refreshment in the Lord. And when I had visited Friends in that county, I took my leave of them, and went from thence to Scotland again, being accompanied by a dear brother called John Grave. We travelled towards Douglas, where we visited the few Friends that were convinced, and had a meeting in the steeple-house yard, where many heard the truth declared in the power and demonstration of the Spirit, especially in the priest's absence; but when he was at his devotion many of them left us. In the steeple-house, when the priest was catechising his hearers, and sometimes when they could not answer him, I was ready to reply, and I gave him some queries to answer: and sometimes he said he would answer them, and sometimes he said he would not; but finally he broke out into a very great rage and passion, and caused the people to turn me out of my lodging; and it is possible he would have done much more, if he had had power in his hand.

We travelled from thence to Edinburgh, where we had several good meetings, as also at Leith, and that openly in the street; many resorted to them, both of the English that were in that country, and also of the natives: so that many precious opportunities we had of declaring the everlasting truth of God freely and powerfully among them. About that time I was not well in body, having oppressed it with sore travel; howbeit the Lord was pleased to restore me again in a pretty short time, even for the service sake.

When we were pretty clear of Edinburgh and Leith, we travelled towards Stirling City; but

when we came there, the people were so incensed against us, that we had very much to do, to get lodging for our money, which finally some soldiers procured for us. And when the First day of the week came, it was upon us to go to their great steeple-house, which accordingly we did; and being there at the very time when the priest was going about to swear some of them upon some occasion, I was moved to speak; and tell them how that Christ (the head of the church) said, "*swear not at all*;" but little more would they suffer us to speak in that place. Afterwards we were carried before the governor, who was pretty high against us, and would even have forced us out of the city; howbeit he was then prevented, for the Lord had a very considerable service for us in the afterpart of the day, for we had appointed a meeting upon a certain green, near the steeple-house, unto which a great concourse of people resorted; and a very precious and serviceable meeting we had,—for the Lord was pleased to give us his word plentifully to communicate to the people freely and powerfully, and his presence was with us, and his living witness was reached in many, which testified unto the truth of what we declared; and little further opposition did we meet withal at that time. Yet some of the people were so envious, and others fearful, that many of them durst not entertain us; neither could we well get lodging in the city that night; so that we went out into the country, and not without difficulty could we get lodging there; for the Scots were prejudiced against the English, they looking upon us as if we had been some straggling soldiers, were therefore the more afraid of us; yet Providence did so order it, that we got well through the

country to Glasgow. When we came there, we found the governor (one Colonel Ashfield) a very moderate man; and he sent for me to his house, and reasoned very moderately with me, as also his wife, (who is since convinced of the truth, and he very loving to Friends;) his chaplain was also friendly to us. And when the First day of the week came, it was upon us to go to one of their steeple-houses, which accordingly we did: and when the priest had done, I began to speak to the people, but the drums did beat, whereby the soldiers were called away; and as for the Scots they could not endure sound doctrine, but turned away their ears from hearing the truth. At this city I was carried to the main-guard, where I had exceeding good service among the soldiers, who were very civil towards me, and in due time they suffered me to depart in peace to my lodging.

When we had had very good service in that city, and were pretty clear and free of it, it was upon me to go to another noted place called Ayr, in the west of Scotland, and it was upon my dear companion John Grave to go to another place, so that we parted for a season, which was no small trial to us in that dark and barbarous country. In due time I got to the aforesaid Ayr; and it was upon me to go to the steeple-house there, where I had pretty good liberty, there being many soldiers, and I was civilly treated among them.

After I was clear of that place and others, according to the will of God, in due time I set my face again towards England, and travelled many a mile alone in that barren and rude country; howbeit the Lord was with me, and through his mighty power I was not only preserved out of the hands of

unreasonable men, but also through his mercy, from the sin and evil which abounded among those people; for which my soul hath cause to bless and magnify the name of the Lord, while I have my being.

In due time afterwards I met with my dear companion to our mutual refreshment; and then with cheerfulness (after we were clear of that country) did we return to England again. When we got into Cumberland we had very large and precious meetings, even as we had had before our going into Scotland; and Friends were strengthened and confirmed in the precious truth, which in those days did flourish and prosper very much; and the Lord's power and presence was with us, through which we were carried on in his work and service, in which our souls delighted to be exercised.

After I had had such exceeding good service in Cumberland, I visited Friends in Westmorland, and in due time got well back to Swarthmore again, where I was dearly received as in months past; after my great travels, I always found it a place of refreshment to me, both for soul and body. But there I was not permitted to stay much, there being such an effectual door open abroad in the country; and therefore I was constrained, through the love of God which dwelt richly in my heart, to labour so much the more diligently,—for I knew it was good working while it was day. In the interim when I was at Swarthmore, we had not only many precious meetings there, but also several in the country thereabouts, near unto the steeple-houses and chapels: so that many heard the truth of God plentifully declared, both of them that believe and of them that perish; and, indeed, a glorious and pre-

cious time we had, to make known unto people the way of salvation, and what the Lord had done for our souls ; many believed and were converted, and brought to serve and worship the Lord in spirit and in truth.

But I had not been long in those parts when it was upon me to go towards Bristol, and further westwards so far as Cornwall ; whereupon I took my leave of Friends at Swarthmore in abundance of love and tenderness, (in which we were wont to meet and to part,) and travelled with a dear companion, whose name was Walter Clements. Many brethren and Friends we visited in our journey to their and our comfort ; and in due time (through mercy) we got well to Bristol, where I was more than a little refreshed with Friends, to see how the truth prospered among them, and what large and gallant meetings there were, both in the city as also in the country thereabouts ! And freely was I moved to communicate to them of the overflowing of the life and power dwelling in me, which tended to the comforting of many. After we were refreshed together in the Lord I left them, and went on my journey westward, (for I was determined to visit some of the brethren that were in prison in Launceston gaol in Cornwall ;) and several Friends I visited as I went, (travelling then mostly alone and on foot also :) but the Lord was with me, and through his goodness I got well to my journey's end ; where I was not a little comforted with the brethren. I went out also into the country, where I had some very good service ; and afterwards returned to the prison again, where my refreshment was so much, that my cup was even made to overflow,—there being at that time dear George Fox and several other Friends

prisoners there: of whom in due time I took my leave, even in the fulness of endeared love, and returned again out of those parts.

CHAPTER VIII.

He returns to Bristol, and travels eastward into Kent—Remarks on the exercise of his gift—Reaches London.

ABOUT the latter end of the Fifth month, or the beginning of the Sixth, 1656, I was at Plymouth, where I visited Friends; and after I had had a meeting among them, I travelled into the country, and being refreshed with Friends in Plymouth as also in the country, I came to a place called Totness in Devonshire; where upon my coming into the town I was apprehended, and carried before the mayor, who threatened to have the whip laid upon my back, (though without cause;) but Providence did order it otherwise, for others of the magistrates were more moderate; and when they examined me the priest was present, and a very gallant opportunity I had, to bear a large and faithful testimony unto the truth, which accordingly I did; for indeed the Lord was much with me, and it was given me in that very hour what I was to speak. That night they kept me prisoner, and the next day they sent me away with a pass from tithing-man to tithing-man, or from constable to constable; and thereby I had a fine opportunity to declare the truth to the people in the country as I travelled. For when I had come into a town, and was in the officer's

hand, many people that heard of it came out of their houses to see the Quaker, as I was called ; and some were pretty tender and loving, and others were otherwise : however, I freely declared the truth among them as I was moved ; and in due time I was freed from that entanglement by a countryman that would trouble himself no further with me, but gave me the pass, and let me depart in peace.

Afterwards I got well to Taunton in Somersetshire, where I visited Friends, as elsewhere in the aforesaid shire ; and in due time I got well to Bristol, where I found several of the brethren, as Francis Howgill, John Audland, &c., with whom I was more than a little comforted ; for the Lord's presence was with us, and his heavenly power was amongst us, so that we were not only a refreshment one unto another in the Lord, but many were refreshed through us, and we all in the Lord, whom our souls did magnify and praise.

And when we had been sweetly refreshed together among Friends at Bristol, we went into Wiltshire, and were together at a great general meeting : after which we parted in abundance of love and unity ; for I was to go into Kent, and they elsewhere.

And when I came to a place called Basingstoke, there did I happily meet with my dear brother and former companion, John Stubbs ; and another dear brother called William Ames was with him, who had been together in Holland ; but they being travelling westwards, and I eastward, we had but little time together : howbeit, in that little time we were together, we were truly comforted one in another ; and afterwards, in the ancient brotherly

love, we parted again. And I travelled along my journey being much as alone, but indeed the Lord's heavenly presence was with me; and several good and precious meetings I had in my journey, to mine and Friends' great refreshment in the Lord: and finally through mercy I came well into Kent, where I went from place to place, and visited such (especially) as before had received our testimony. Many precious and large meetings I had in the county, and the Lord was very much with me, who furnished me plenteously with his word and power; insomuch that I stood admiring at sundry times, from whence I had that fulness, (and this was not only the case with me, but with many more,) who looking with the eye of reason upon my earthly tabernacle or outward man, could not expect any great thing from myself, being then but about twenty years of age;—neither ever had I been in much profession, until I was convinced of the truth of God; yet plenty of heavenly things the Lord was pleased to open in me and through me, to the end that I might communicate the same to the multitude, which sometimes being great, I was ready to say within myself, whence shall I have wherewithal to satisfy all these? And when I looked out at my own weakness and insufficiency as of myself, I was ready to faint within myself; but when I looked only at the Lord, and put my confidence entirely in him, I was strong and courageous. For the Lord showed me by his eternal light, at a time when I was even bemoaning my own weakness, and groaning under the sense of the weight of the service and work of the Lord; saying or thinking within myself, Oh! such and such (meaning the ablest and wisest of the brethren) are so and so

fitted and furnished, that they need not care what service they are called unto,—but as for me, I am so simple,—I am so weak,—and I never have any thing beforehand,—neither do scarce ever know, when I go into a meeting of several hundreds, what I shall say, or whether anything or nothing ; and even when I was full of those and such like reasonings, the Lord showed me (I say,) how they that had much had nothing over, and they that had little, had no lack ; even as it was with the Israelites of old. For the brethren that were wise and eminent, who had received much from the Lord, behold there was so much the more required of them : so that of all they had, they had nothing over, but what they were to employ in the work and service of God. As for my own part, I, who was so little in my own eyes, and so mean and contemptible in the eyes of others, had no cause to complain ; for though I was often in the state that I knew not what I should say when I went into a meeting, yet even in such a meeting, hath the Lord been pleased to give me his word so plentifully, that through him I was enabled to speak two or three, yea, sometimes four hours in a meeting with little or no intermission : and often it hath been with me, that as I knew not before the meeting what I should speak in the meeting, so neither could I well remember after the meeting what I had spoken in it ; and yet had plenty and fulness, though I was often daily at meetings ; and not only so, but in the evenings also ; and the Lord gave a fresh supply always out of that good treasury, which affords things both new and old.

Now these things I rehearse not for my own praise, but do say, *not unto me, not unto me*, (who

have nothing but what I have received,) *be the praise; but unto the Lord alone*; who is the giver of every good and perfect gift. And I can truly say, that which I received from him, I delivered unto his people: . and no small favour, love, and esteem, I had from them and among them; so that the Lord (whom I faithfully served,) was pleased to give me even what my heart and soul desired; and an exceeding glorious day I had of it, and did much rejoice in the Lord, notwithstanding my great travails and sufferings; all which, through him, were made easy to me; neither were they much to me, with all the perils and dangers I went through both by sea and land, in comparison of the power and presence of the Almighty, which did so sweetly and eminently accompany me in those days.

After I had had exceeding good service in Kent and elsewhere in the country where I had travelled, I went up to London.

CHAPTER IX.

1656.—*Sails for Holland—Visits Amsterdam and Rotterdam—His service at both places—Is imprisoned at Middleburgh, and conveyed on board a ship of war for England—Travels into the South of England, returns to London (1656-7)—and proceeds again to Holland.*

ABOUT the beginning of the Seventh month 1656, I being at London, with several of the brethren,

we had at that time pretty much disturbance in our meetings in the city by some troublesome and unruly spirits, who were gone from the truth into extremes; and though we suffered by them, yet we were refreshed together in the Lord, and one in another.

About that time it was upon me to go over for Holland, unto which I was given up in the will of the Lord. I was then but weak in body, having gotten a surfeit through heats and colds in my travels, as it was judged; nevertheless I was in readiness (though in that weak condition) to take the first opportunity; and very much I desired to have had a companion along with me, if Providence had so ordered it: howbeit, I went finally alone; and did meet with some wicked and uncivil men in the same vessel in which I went over; some of whom did in their jollity abuse me: but before we got over to Holland, we had a pretty sore storm, and as to outward appearance were in pretty much danger. And at that time great was the fear and anguish that came upon those that were so wicked: and even then did the Lord raise me up, in whom my faith and confidence was. It was upon me to speak to them in their distress, and then the witness of God was near and ready to answer to the truth of what I spoke: and the goodness and mercy of the Lord to me in that storm was very great; through whose hand we were preserved, and finally (through his mercy) brought well to our desired haven; blessed and magnified be his name for ever and ever.

When I landed at Dort, I do not know that I could speak three words of their language, and so was much pressed in spirit, and sorely laden with the

weight of iniquity, which fell upon me ; and seeing I wanted an interpreter, therefore was my burthen the greater. From Dort I sailed to Rotterdam, where I found some few that had heard the truth, and who in some measure received it ; howbeit, I staid not long there neither, for my drawings were pretty much to Amsterdam. And through the good hand of the Lord I got finally well thither, where John Stubbs and William Ames (my dear brethren) had been before with another Friend ; and very good service they had had among the professors there : some had received their testimony, and the truth in the love of it ; and such with gladness and joy of heart received me. And the Lord made my service effectual among them for the establishing and confirming them in that living truth, which they had heard and believed. There were some among them that could understand me, and interpret that which I spoke to the rest ; so that very good service I had among them, for that little time I staid among them, which was not long, till it was upon me to return to Rotterdam again. In the mean time, a young man came over from England, who went with me, and could understand both English and Dutch ; but when I was at Rotterdam he left me for a while ; and in the meantime, I was much straitened for want of an interpreter ; but there being one that could speak some Latin, I spoke sometime in that language to him, and he did interpret it to the rest. But oh ! my sufferings at that time were exceeding great in that country, and that in divers respects ; and they were augmented through some forward and unruly spirits that were convinced, but who run out into extremes both in words and writing ; whereby both the truth, and

they that lived in it, came to suffer much : for my part, I had fainted through weakness and sufferings, had not the Lord by his mighty power upheld and preserved me.

At that time few or none of the priest's proselytes came to our meetings, but several high conceited professors both at Amsterdam and Rotterdam attended, and several of them were more apt to take upon them to teach others, than to receive instructions themselves.

I was also at the Jews' Synagogue at Amsterdam upon one of their Sabbath days; and staying most of the time of their worship, I beheld the manner of it, which was very strange in divers respects; neither would they admit of any dispute in their Synagogue; but after their worship was ended, I and another Friend had some pretty good service with some of them in one of their houses: they are a very hard, obstinate, and conceited people in their way. When I had staid some time at Rotterdam, it was upon me to go to Zealand, which accordingly I did, about the latter end of the Eighth month 1656, and the aforesaid young man went along with me. And when we had been some days at Middleburgh, the aforesaid young man went to some of their meeting-places in that city, and was apprehended; which I finally understanding, went to visit him, and they, perceiving that I was his companion, secured me also. Afterwards we were examined very late in the night, and after our examination we had three or four soldiers to guard us, and a place appointed for us where we might lie. But quickly after we were laid down, we were called up again in great haste, and were carried from thence to the prison, about the eleventh

or twelfth hour at night, and put in two distinct places, which caused my sufferings to be the greater, and that the more, because I could speak little or none of their language. There I remained some days, (being weak in body,) but in process of time, we were brought before the council, and were severally examined, but returned to prison again.

It seems they ordered (by what followed,) that we should be sent for England; for soon after, a coach-wagon was brought to the door, to carry us to the water-side, and several soldiers were also provided to guard us. For the city seemed to be as in an uproar, and the rude multitude did rage exceedingly, as if they would have torn us to pieces; but the Lord was with us, who was our chief keeper, though there were some in the wagon with us, and some that went on foot along by the wagon. And according to their order, they brought us on board of a ship of war, where we were kept prisoners, near upon two weeks, being confined to an open cold room; and the men were so hard-hearted towards us, that they would not allow us so much as a bit of sailcloth to lie under us, or above us, thus for the most part of that time we lay upon the bare boards in very cold stormy weather, so that our sufferings were great both in the inward and outward man.

But oh! how is the goodness and mercy of the Lord to be admired, for even then, and while I was in prison, when I was so hardly used, even then I say, did my strength grow much, and I recovered my health in a great measure again, even to my own and others' admiration; and thereby I came to have further experience of the goodness

and mercy of our God, for which my soul hath cause to bless and magnify his name for ever.

About the middle of the Ninth month 1656, through mercy, we got well to England, and about the same time came up to London. We had extraordinary pain in our feet after we came to lie in warm beds, having lain so long in cold weather in our stockings and shoes: but meeting with many of the brethren there, my refreshment on the other hand was great among them, and in that good service which I had in the city.

When I had been about two weeks in the city, it was upon me to go down into the country; and when I was travelling alone in Surrey, near Riegate, a wicked murderous fellow came out of a house, and fell upon me as if he would forthwith have murdered me; but the Lord delivered me out of his hands, and afterwards I went to the meeting of Friends that day: after that I had exceeding good service in Sussex, especially among a people that were called Seekers, who were mostly convinced, not far from Lewes. I was also at Steyning, Arundel, Chichester, Portsmouth and Southampton, at all which places I had exceeding good service for the Lord; as also at other places both in Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent. And upon that day called Shrove-Tuesday, I had a meeting at the east side of Sussex, where there had never been any Friends before; and the rude multitude came with their drum, marching up to the house, like men ready for battle, in a desperate manner, as if they would have pulled the house down over our heads; I was moved to go out to them, and asked them what they wanted; they said *Quakers*; I

told them I was one. And it was upon me to speak in much plainness to them, which I did, and in much power; and presently their countenance fell, and fear surprised them, and with shame and confusion they withdrew, not having power to harm any of us, blessed be the Lord; who in those days did eminently appear for us, as often he hath done since, therefore have we cause to put our confidence in him to the end. About that time I had much good service for the Lord in those parts, and when I was free of the same I returned again to London.

But I had not staid long there, when it was upon me to return again for Holland; howbeit some very good service I had in London, and in some part of Surrey in the interim, before I was perfectly clear and ready to take shipping; for about that time there was an effectual door open in and about the city, and many of the brethren were there, and a very precious opportunity we had together, to our refreshment in the Lord.

And in due time way was made for my going over, accordingly as it was upon me; and in the fulness of dear and precious love, I took my leave of Friends and the brethren at London, and through mercy I arrived well at Rotterdam; and understanding there that William Ames, a dear brother, was at Utrecht, I hastened thither, where I found him in good service for the Lord, both to his and my refreshment. Entering into discourse with him, I understood that he had been in prison at Amsterdam with another Friend, and that they were turned out of the city, &c. Nevertheless, according as it was upon me, I went to the aforesaid Amsterdam,

though bound in spirit; and came thither about the middle of the Second month, 1657. I arrived there in a very seasonable and needful time; for Friends being but young, and having had a pretty sore storm, were somewhat scattered and scattering, being discouraged and frightened through the indignation and wrath of the magistrates and priests, which was somewhat kindled against them: I made it my work to gather them together again, and to establish them so much as was possible in the eternal truth. And besides what they had met with from the magistrates, &c., there had been a bad instrument among them, who had bred much discord and dissension among them; but through the mercy and goodness of the Lord, they came in due time to be restored again into faith and confidence, peace and tranquillity, in which they kept their meetings. But as for the professors, they were high and conceited, and would scarce believe that a greater light was sprung up in any part of the world, than what was arisen among them; neither could they well endure to receive instruction from such as would not or need not be instructed by them. There were also at that time many stumbling-blocks laid in the way of the simple, and many obstructions the truth met withal in that place; and therefore were my burthens the more, and my sufferings the greater; but the Lord was with me, and the right hand of his righteousness upheld me,—glory be to his holy name for ever and ever!

[The following valuable epistle from the Swarthmore Collection, is dated “Amsterdam, in Holland,

15th of third month, 1657:" it bears an endorsement in the handwriting (as the editor believes,) of George Fox, thus: "W. Caton to Friends, 1657."

To all my dearly beloved Friends that be elected of God, sanctified through the Word of his grace to be vessels of honour, to the praise and glory of his name everlasting; mercy, grace and peace be multiplied amongst you, from God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the fountain of love and life, from whom all goodness doth come; who hath distributed of the riches of his grace unto you, and manifested his living power amongst you; by which he hath quickened some of you who were dead in trespasses and sins, and given you a sight of the entrance into the eternal inheritance, which never fades away: yea, light is sprung up unto you who walked in darkness, and upon you who dwelt in the land of the shadow of death, hath the light shined; and your understandings hath the Lord opened, and hath given you to see *that* in yourselves, which separated you from him; and some of you are come to distinguish betwixt the precious and the vile, betwixt that which entereth into God's kingdom, and that which is shut out. And so that which once you esteemed highly, which did appear beautiful and glorious in your eyes, comes now to be accounted dross and dung in comparison of that pearl, which some have found, and many are digging for; which is not purchased by all that seek it, because they are not willing to part with the whole substance for it. But I know that many of you have forsaken much; and yet something remains which must be also offered, (even that which would save its life, and would not come to judgment,) must be brought to light and tendered, if it be as dear unto you as your right eye or right hand; and those I say, who keep nothing back, but are willing to part with all for the truth's sake, shall receive an hundred fold, and in the life to come life everlasting. For I do assure you, that none are ever made losers for parting with anything for the Lord, neither need they repent thereof; and that which you lose and have lost for the truth, the time is at hand when you shall account it again. And though the world may account you fools, because of the loss of your reputation; when your honour and dignity comes to be laid in the dust it matters not; for it is better to be reproached by the world, and

to suffer persecution of the world for righteousness' sake, than it is to revile them whom the Lord hath chosen out of the world. Therefore eye his mercy to you, that are reproached and not reproachers, persecuted and not persecutors; yea, I say, rejoice that you are accounted worthy, not only to believe, but also to suffer for his name's sake. Therefore be ye comforted, in the midst of your deepest sufferings and tribulations, with the consideration and hope of the joy and glory that shall be revealed unto you, which your present sufferings (which are but for a moment) are not worthy to be compared unto. For the night is far spent in which the sorrows are; and the day is at hand when sorrow and sighing shall fly away: then shall you that mourn be comforted, and receive beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness; that ye may be called the trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord; although for the present you be in pain and sorrow, groaning to be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God. Be patient therefore and hope to the end, for he that shall come will come, and will not tarry; whose arm is already stretched out, in which he carries his babes and lambs, who are born again of the incorruptible seed, nourished and fed with the sincere milk of the living word, by which they grow from strength to strength. And the Lord will not lay any more upon any of them than they are able to bear; but he strengthens the weak, comforts the feeble, binds up the broken-hearted, fills the hungry, clothes the naked, satisfies the weary and the thirsty soul; whose everlasting treasury is always full, and his banquetting-house ever well stored with durable riches; where the distressed are relieved, and every one's necessity supplied, that hungers after righteousness. For he is a Father to the fatherless, and he increaseth the strength of such as have no might: so unto him you may come, as unto a living fountain, from whence none are sent empty away, who thirst and pant after the Lord. Oh! blessed are all they that come to drink here of this fountain of living waters; their souls shall never thirst more: and you, whose souls are thirsting and longing to participate of it, you shall be satisfied. For I know that no visible created thing can satisfy that which longeth to be refreshed with the living streams which

issue out from this fountain, which watereth and refresheth the whole city of God,—the streams whereof make glad the hearts of the righteous, whose souls come therewith to be everlastingly satisfied. So come hither, all you that thirst, “come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat, yea, come and buy wine and milk without money and without price;” yea, eat, O Friends, eat abundantly and be satisfied; for a living fountain hath the Lord set open, for Judah and Jeresalem; and all that are bathed and washed in it come to enter into the holy city, which hath no need of the sun nor of the moon to shine in it;—for the glory of the Lord God doth enlighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof;—the gates of which are not shut at all by day, for there is no night there;—neither can anything enter into it that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie; but they whose names are written in the Lamb’s book of life. And towards this your faces are turned, and your feet are guided into the way that leads to it.

But woe to them that take up their rest by the way, and so come short; they shall inherit sorrow and vexation, and trouble shall be their portion; and with terror and great fear shall they inherit their possessions; and poverty and distress shall be their garments, by reason of the drought, scarcity, and famine, that shall be in their inheritance. But with the righteous and them that fear the Lord it shall not be so;—for the Lord is their shepherd, and they shall not want any good thing;—they shall eat in plenty;—feed in pastures which are green and large, and their souls shall delight themselves in fatness. There shall no devourer nor venomous beast come within their liberty to make them afraid; neither shall there be scarcity nor desolation in their land; for the dew from heaven shall fall upon it, which shall cause it to bring forth more abundantly, by which its increase shall be watered and refreshed; for the Lord hath blessed their inheritance, and the curse shall no more come upon it, neither shall the unclean enter into it,—but showers of mercy shall descend upon it;—because the Lord hath blessed it,—yea, and will bless it, and all their posterity, that doth inherit it for ever and ever.

So, my dear Friends, know the seed of God in yourselves, and dwell in the living power of God, which will overturn and dispossess that which by violence hath kept

the seed of God in bondage ; that that which hath led captive may go into captivity, and that which hath suffered violence under the violent oppressor, may come to be set free. Then will you see your deliverer come forth of Sion, who purchased your redemption, and will make you free from that which hath held you in thralldom and bondage : then shall you return unto Sion with the ransomed of the Lord, with everlasting joy upon your heads,—being made inheritors amongst them that are sanctified and crowned with victory. So, the everlasting powerful God, who is strong and mighty, bless, preserve, and keep you ;—that you may multiply, increase, and prosper, and bring forth some an hundred, some sixty, some thirty fold, to the praise and glory of our God—to whose custody and protection I commend you : his grace and peace be with you for ever and ever, amen. Your dear brother in the living truth,

WILL. CATON.]

When I had staid there for the most part of seven weeks, I left Friends for a season, having had very good service in that place, not only at meetings, or the like, but about getting books printed and published, which were of very good service in that country.

Afterwards I went with my dear brother William Ames through some of the principal cities in Gilderland ; howbeit our movings were especially to a place called Zutphen, a city out of which W. A. had been banished before : and when we came there we went to the meeting-place of the Mennonists, (otherwise Baptists ;) but when we would have gone in, they bolted the door to us, and would not suffer us to enter in among them : and William being pretty well known in the city, the rude multitude gathered about us ; but to avoid the occasion of a tumult, we withdrew out of the streets to the walls of the city, and very many people followed us. As we were moved and allowed of God, so we

spoke in his power, to the making known of his eternal truth; and a very good opportunity we had thereunto upon the walls of the city, from which we withdrew, when we were free; howbeit, the baser sort of people were very rude in throwing stones and clods at us; but the Lord did so preserve us, that we received little harm thereby. In the afternoon there came very many people to us out of the city to our lodging, where we had also a very good opportunity to declare the everlasting truth freely among them, and to disperse many books in their own language, which we had brought along with us; and several there were that received pretty good satisfaction. My dear companion had proposed to have staid there some time, but the magistrates being moved with envy, would not suffer the people to entertain him; besides they took it as a great presumption in him, that he should dare to return again thither, after he was banished from thence. Moreover, they threatened that if the Baptists came at us they should be served in like manner; which threatenings, together with what they had done before, did keep the people much in fear and slavery, so that they durst not appear to vindicate that which they were convinced of.

After we had such good service there, and in those parts, I returned again to Amsterdam, where my service consisted much in keeping things in as good order as was possible; and likewise in getting books printed and published, and in several other respects.

CHAPTER X.

1657.—*His service in several cities in Holland—The love of God to him and Friends there—He returns again to England—Attends a general meeting in Bedfordshire—Proceeds northward, and reaches Swarthmore.*

IN this year (1657) I was at the Hague, the place at which the head court is kept for the Seven Provinces : but little entrance there was for the truth, though some good service I had with some in that city. I was also at the city of Dort (when the plague was pretty much there,) where I found some two or three that were somewhat loving ; howbeit, there was also little entertainment for the truth in the place, and therefore was my suffering the greater.

I went also sometime to the city of Utrecht to visit them that were convinced, where I had now and then good service, and pretty fine meetings ; but in those days I spoke mostly by an interpreter. And when the magistrates and priests came to understand how that the truth seemed to get some entrance in that place, their enmity began to increase against it ; and they gave forth an order, that those that entertained us, and had meetings at their houses, should from thenceforth neither entertain us, nor have any more meetings in their houses, in pain of being turned out of the city, or of being arbitrarily punished ; which threatenings did terrify

some, and caused some to draw back, but not all.

I was also at the city of Leyden, where their great university is ; there a Baptist woman received me into her house, whose husband was a Papist, at whose house I was allowed to have a meeting, unto which many sorts of people resorted. The truth being there a new thing and very strange, I met with no small opposition, especially from the Papists and Baptists, both which sorts were stirred and offended ; and more so, because the man and woman of the house came both to be convinced. A meeting was in due time settled and established in that city, where oftentimes (as also in other places) I had good service for the Lord and his truth. And most commonly, when my service was over in the country, I returned again to the city of Amsterdam, which was a place of great concernment, and where there was a more constant service than in other parts in that country ; in due time there was an addition to Friends, and the number of them increased ; their meetings were kept in very good order, and for the most part were pretty peaceable ; and the goodness and mercy of the Lord abounded much to the remnant that were there gathered. Howbeit, sometimes the rude multitude was tumultuous and troublesome at our meetings : once especially there were many rude people gathered together, who doubtless had much wickedness in their hearts, and some of the worst of them came into our meeting, and sought presently to lay violent hands on me, and to have done much mischief to me and others ; but the Lord's power prevented them, and preserved me

and Friends, even to our admiration; for I was through Providence cast into a house in the presence of the rude multitude, who if they had not been, as it were, smitten with blindness, and restrained through the power of God, they might have executed their fury upon me and the rest; but he that was in us, and by his power preserved us, was greater than he that was in them, who in their madness would have devoured us at once: but blessed be the Lord our God, who very often showed mercy unto us, and did very plenteously, at sundry times, with his heavenly presence and infinite loving-kindness, refresh and comfort our souls and spirits;—infinite praises be to his name for ever and ever!

When I had spent above a year in the service of the Lord in the Low Countries, especially in Holland, (in which time I had also written two or three books at the least,) I was free in the Lord to return for England, which accordingly I did, through Zealand; where I wrote the book called, *The Moderate Inquirer*, &c.: and in due time I got well to London, through the mercy and goodness of the Lord, where I found many of the brethren; and several precious meetings we had in and about the city, even to our great refreshment; for about that time the truth did multiply, grow, and spread, and many were added to the church, and came to receive the Gospel. For in those days the Lord endued his servants and handmaids with very much power and wisdom from above, and they went on in his name, preaching the word of life, both in season and out of season, not only in the meetings which they were moved to appoint, and which Friends duly kept, but also in steeple-houses and markets,

in streets and highways, or elsewhere, wheresoever or whensoever any was moved of the Lord to publish and declare his living truth.

When I had been some little time in London, I went into Surrey to some general meetings there near Reigate and Kingston ; where I was more than a little refreshed with Friends, and they with me, in the power and presence of the Lord God, which was often eminently manifested amongst us, to the comforting of our souls and spirits.

At the time called Whitsuntide, in the year 1658, there was a general meeting appointed in Bedfordshire, at one John Crook's, unto which I went with Friends from Kingston, and unto which many hundreds of Friends resorted ; and some of the brethren came from most parts of the nation, and great was our refreshment together in the Lord.* And when it had continued about two days, there came some troopers, who did then apprehend few or none, though some were in jeopardy : and afterwards we parted, and went every one as he was moved, some eastward, and others westward, some northward, and others southward : but I and a dear brother and former fellow-servant, whose name was Thomas Salthouse, went to the north, and visited Friends in our journey, and came finally through mercy well to Swarthmore in Lancashire (the place of our former residence ;) where we were received with joy and gladness, and indeed great was our refreshment in the Lord, as it was wont to be in that place. And divers precious and gallant meetings we had there and thereabouts, which tended not only to our own refreshment, but to the refreshment of many

* See George Fox's Journal for an account of this meeting, under date 1657-8.

more, whose hearts and souls were made truly glad, through the power and presence of the Lord God, which did accompany us.

After I was abundantly refreshed at Swarthmore, and with Friends thereabouts, I went into Westmorland (according as it was upon me,) about the latter end of the Fourth month, in the aforesaid year, 1658, where I had some very good service among Friends at and about Kendal; and afterwards I went out of those parts into the bishoprick, where I had several large and precious meetings, but one very large, gallant general meeting especially, upon a certain moor, in a convenient place for Friends to come to from several parts of the country; and the Lord's power and heavenly presence was very much with me that day, even to the confirming of them that had believed in the everlasting truth, and to the convincing of those there present who were giving their hearts and minds unto the truth.

After this meeting I went to Durham, where the same night I had a very good meeting; for in those days it was common with us, (while such an effectual door was open,) to get meetings in the evening, besides that which we had had in the day-time; for we were freely given up to spend and be spent in the work of the Lord, which in that day did prosper exceedingly, to our joy and refreshment in the Lord.

When I had had very good service for the Lord in the bishoprick, I went into some part of Northumberland, and visited Friends there, and afterwards from thence to Carlisle, where I had very good service; as also elsewhere in the county of Cumberland, where I had many precious and gal-

lant meetings; for in that county, there would come many hundreds to a meeting: and our meetings were commonly very peaceable, and the Lord was extraordinary good unto me, and gave me his word plentifully to publish and declare in the power and demonstration of his eternal Spirit, to the confirming of many that had believed in the everlasting truth of God.

After I had visited Friends and their meetings in that county, and was clear thereof, I returned again into Lancashire to the aforesaid Swarthmore, where I was wont to find Friends in the same love, life and power in which I left them; and it was very common to us, and with us, (through the mercy of the Lord,) to be plentifully refreshed together in and through the same; therefore had we many joyful and blessed days together, the remembrance of which doth even unto this very day sweetly refresh me, especially when I feel the same love and life fresh in myself, which then was, and yet is, the author of our living refreshment.

And in the interim when I was at Swarthmore, it was my manner (together with others of the brethren) to go from thence to meetings in the country thereabouts, sometimes among Friends, and sometimes to fresh places, where, it may be, there had scarce ever been a meeting of Friends: for I made it my sole work to be found doing the work of God, unto which he had called me, and for which he had in measure fitted and qualified me, blessed be his name for evermore, who never suffered me to go without my reward.

CHAPTER XI.

1658.—*Travels to London—His labours in Kent, Sussex, &c.—Proceeds to Bristol, and returns to London—Attends a General Meeting of Ministering Friends at the Bull and Mouth (1659)—Sails again to Holland and returns—Dangers on his voyage back.*

ABOUT the latter end of the Sixth month, 1658, I took my leave of that honourable family [at Swarthmore] and of Friends thereabouts, and accordingly as it was upon me, set my face southwards again, visiting Friends in some part of Lancashire, and especially in Cheshire, where I staid about a week or more, and had several good and precious meetings to our great refreshment in the Lord.

Afterwards I went pretty readily to London, where I found several of the brethren, and an effectual door open, and Friends generally well, fresh, lively, and very open and tender: and extraordinary good service I had about that time in the city, and the Lord was pleased to give much dominion, and even fulness to me out of the everlasting treasury, which freely, through him that strengthened me, I communicated to them whose souls were breathing after the Lord.

[*Extract from a letter dated London, 13th of Seventh month, 1658, to Margaret Fell.*]

“ I came into the city, and my soul hath been much

refreshed among the brethren. Here is a mighty door open at present in this city; and Friends are generally fresh, lively, and tender: and for the generality of the people they are much *under*, and many are moderate and loving, whose hearts are open to receive the truth. I have had as gallant service in the work of the Lord, since I came to this city, as I believe I ever had in my life. Upon the First day, I was at the meeting at the Bull and Mouth, where the Lord was pleased to open the hearts of many, who with joy and gladness received that which the Lord allowed me to speak; so that in much love and tenderness I left them. After that meeting I passed a mile out of the city, when I had a very precious meeting, which consisted of a great concourse of people, several captains and masters of ships and seamen, with other persons of note and quality, who were generally very moderate and open to receive the truth. After that meeting was ended, I returned again into the city to another meeting, where the power and presence of the Lord was made manifest, to the great refreshment of the most part of the Friends then assembled.]

And when I had been about two weeks, or above, in and about the city, I went down into Kent, where I also found an open door, and fresh desires in people after the Lord; and many precious meetings I had also in that county, which were of great service for the establishing of Friends in the truth who were convinced, and for the gathering in of others, who were hungering and desiring after the truth.

I went out of that county into Sussex, where I also visited Friends, and had several precious meetings among them; and travelled along pretty near unto the sea-coast, so far as Southampton, where I had also gallant service among Friends; and after we had been plenteously refreshed together, I took my leave of them as in other places, and visited

Friends at Winchester that were there in prison. Afterwards I travelled westwards into Somersetshire, where I visited Friends and some of their meetings; and being sweetly refreshed among them, I went to Bristol, where I had some exceeding good service, as also in some parts of the country thereabouts among Friends; and it was no small matter of joy and rejoicing to me to see the truth of God so to prosper and flourish, as I saw it did in that my successful journey; and in due time I returned to London again by Reading, where I also visited Friends, and reaped refreshment there as well as elsewhere; for in all those travels the Lord had been with me, which even made them (together with the service which I had in them,) very pleasant and delightful to me. And many precious and peaceable meetings I had; and the Lord gave me utterance in power and much authority, to declare and publish his name and truth; all which redounded to his praise, which was his due, and which my soul did freely render unto him, who was the fulness itself, from which all my fresh springs did flow.

After I had some very good service in London, as before, to the augmenting of my refreshment in the Lord, I passed down into Kent again, about the 20th of the Ninth month; where I had very good and precious service for the most part of a month, and afterwards I returned to London again, where I was determined to have staid but a few days, when I went thither; but the work of the Lord was so exceeding great in it, and meetings so full and so many, that it was even hard to get out of it again in a short time; for indeed in those days the truth

did mightily prevail and prosper, and not only in that city, but in the country about, as also in many parts of the nation.

After that time I spent some months in those southern parts, where especially there was such an effectual door open : and oftentimes in great service for the Lord I was exercised both day and night, in which the Lord even made my cup to overflow.

At the time called Easter, [1659,] there was a general meeting appointed, especially for the ministering brethren, who resorted unto it from several parts of the nation, which was held at the Bull and Mouth, near Aldersgate in London, upon the fifth of the Second month, 1659 : it was very large and exceeding precious, even to the refreshing of many hundreds. And in the after-part of the day we had a very great concourse of people which resorted to our meeting-place at Horslydown in Southwark, where (within and without doors) it was thought some hundreds might hear the truth declared that afternoon, with which many were much affected ; and great was our rejoicing and comfort, which we had in the work and service of the Lord, in which we were abundantly refreshed together. And in that great assembly did our souls even with one accord, and with one consent, praise and magnify the God of our salvation : in a few days after, Friends departed out of the city again, their end being fully answered for which they came together.

About that time it was upon me to go [again] for Holland, and so in due time I took my leave of friends and brethren in London, and in much brokenness of heart, love and unity we parted ; in order to my going over, I took my journey towards Colchester there to take shipping, which accord-

ingly I did, after I had had several large and precious meetings: but the wind being contrary, I staid there, and thereabouts near upon three weeks, in which time I had very good and excellent service; for indeed the Lord's heavenly power and presence was much with me, as in other places, not only to my refreshment, but to the refreshment of many more in the Lord. And finally, when the Lord made way for it, I went aboard, and we set sail; but the wind proving contrary, we put in at Harwich, whereby I came to have an opportunity to see Friends there also. On the First day of the week, I had a gallant meeting there, unto which came not only many Friends out of the country, but also many people that were not Friends, who seemed to be pretty much affected with the truth when it was declared unto them; but when I had spoken about an hour or two, the master of the vessel came and called me away, for he was determined to set sail: then I committed them to the grace of God, and went aboard, and probably thirty or forty Friends might follow me to the ship-side in boats, (such was their love,) to the admiration of the spectators.

In due time through the good hand of God I got well over to Rotterdam, where I visited Friends, as also elsewhere in the country. I found things pretty well in reference to the truth, and meetings pretty peaceable; and about that time strangers did come more frequently to our meetings than formerly: and if things had not been carried in much wisdom, we might have been often in tumults, for there were those who watched for iniquity, and were ready to do mischief, thinking that if the magistrates would not meddle with us, as we then were,

yet if they could but procure an uproar or tumult at or about our meeting-places, that then we should be punished as uproar-makers. Yet notwithstanding the evil conspiracies of the wicked, the Lord was exceeding good to Friends, and very gently and compassionately he dealt with them; and they grew bold and valiant, and the truth got dominion among them: so that whereas my suffering before had been great in that country, (especially before I could speak their language,) yet the Lord refreshed me much among that small remnant which were called by his name, and which walked in his eternal truth: and having gotten their language, and being able to minister in it, I could much better ease and free myself of the weights and burdens than before. When I had staid about two months in that country, and seeing things in a pretty good posture as to the truth, Friends well settled, and their meetings kept in good order, it was upon me again to return for England, where there was such an effectual door open: in order thereunto I took my leave of Friends in Holland, whom I committed to the custody and protection of the Almighty, and so left them.

In the latter end of the Fifth month, 1659, I took shipping for England, partly intending for London. When we had been about twenty-four hours at sea, we saw another ship which proved to be a pirate or robber, which chased us; when the master perceived it, he caused all to be made in a readiness for to fight, and the passengers that were aboard they were furnished with arms as well as the rest, but for my own part I could not touch any of their weapons, as to shed blood with them, but stood simply given up to the will of the Lord. But as

Providence ordered it, when they were almost within shot of us, their hearts failed them, and they were not suffered to come up to us, so that there was no blood shed, nor harm done either to each other; wherein the Lord even answered my desire, and for which mercy my soul did even bless, praise, and magnify his holy name.

But after we were delivered through the good hand of God from the hands of the aforesaid pirate, we were in pretty eminent danger through a very violent storm, which took us when we were near the coast of England; and coming to cast anchor we left both anchor and cable, and had our boat split in pieces; one great ship that rode by us was swallowed up of the raging sea, (a sad sight to behold,) there not being one man saved alive in her; yet nevertheless, the same God that delivered us from the hands of the aforesaid pirate, did also deliver us out of that violent storm; through whose mercy we got finally into harbour at Yarmouth, though it was near upon a hundred miles from the place for which we partly intended.

CHAPTER XII.

1659.—*He proceeds by sea to Sunderland, and passes westward to Swarthmore—His services in Cumberland—Travels to Edinburgh, Leith, and other parts, and returns to Swarthmore.*

WHEN I was put so far to the northward as Yarmouth, I determined to go from thence by shipping into the north; which accordingly I did, with a

Friend to Sunderland, where I found two of the ancient ministering brethren, (viz.) Francis Howgill, and John Audland ; with whom I was much refreshed, as also with the rest of Friends. And when the First day came, we went together unto a general meeting in the country, where there were abundance of Friends and others ; and the power and presence of the Lord was much with us, through which we were much refreshed together.

After that meeting I visited pretty many Friends in the bishoprick, and in some short time after I passed westwards towards Lancashire through Westmorland, visiting Friends in my journey, as my manner was : and in due time I got well to Swarthmore, where I was received in the same ancient and entire love, with which we were usually favoured together, through the infinite mercy of the Most High, which even abounded much to us and among us in those days.

When I had staid some weeks there, and thereabouts, I went into Cumberland, to visit the flock of God there again, among whom I had many precious meetings ; for indeed the power and presence of the Lord did accompany me, and his word of life run freely and powerfully through me, to the strengthening of the weak, to the comforting of the feeble, and to the satisfying of the thirsty soul. And when I had been through a great part of the county, and had visited most of the Friends in it, I returned again into Lancashire ; where I could not stay long at that time, because it was much upon me to go into Scotland to visit Friends there. In order thereunto I took my leave, even in an extraordinary manner, of my dear and near relations (in

the eternal truth) at Swarthmore, where we spent several hours in waiting upon the Lord, and in pouring forth our supplications before him, and in being refreshed abundantly together, after we seemed to be perfectly clear and ready to part one from another; which finally we did, in exceeding much love and unity.

Being accompanied by two dear brethren, (Leonard Fell, and Robert Salthouse,) I went back again into Cumberland, and visited Friends in my journey thither, where I heard much of the troubles that were in that nation, and of the likelihood of their increasing; yet nevertheless I could not be freed of the journey, but must go on (like as I did,) in the name and power of the Lord: and presently after our coming into that nation, the aforesaid brethren took their leave of me and I of them, in the fulness of our Father's love, in much brokenness of heart; committing one another unto the protection and custody of the Almighty; and afterwards I and another Friend travelled towards Edinburgh, where in due time through the mercy of God we arrived, after some hard travel.

The next day after our arrival there, we went to a general meeting at Lythgoe, [Linlithgow] about twelve miles from Edinburgh; where we found Friends at their meeting by the highway side, unto which many people resorted, and a good service we had at it; howbeit the people of the town were so incensed against us, that we could scarce get any entertainment among them for our money; but the wife of the governor of the castle being at the meeting, her heart was opened and filled with love towards us and the truth, and she constrained us to turn in with her, and to take up our lodging in the

castle; which we were free in the Lord to do. Afterwards we had some more good service in the town, which when it was over, I returned back again towards Edinburgh and Leith, where I had some good service. And about that time it was pretty much upon me to have spoken with General Monk, (it being about the time of his advancing for England;) but I was not permitted, and was constrained to deliver my message or to make known my business to his secretary, which he promised to communicate to his master, whereupon I came to be pretty well discharged.

*[The following letter is from the Swarthmore Collection :
Thos. Willan, it appears, was a Friend of Kendal.]*

Thomas Willan,

My dear Friend,—Such is my love to thee and to Friends, that I cannot very well admit such an opportunity as this, when it is put into my hands, but that I must let you know something of my welfare and of the affairs of the Gospel in these parts where I am; knowing that it hath often tended to the refreshment of some, even as I hope these lines in some respect will. I for the present being somewhat far remote from you, even as in a forest or wilderness, where I should be in great jeopardy, did not the arm of the Lord's power compass me about, which is indeed my buckler and sure shield of defence; by which I was brought well through the country, even to the city of Edinburgh, the place towards which I was most pressed to hasten. And staying one night in the city, I passed on twelve miles the day following; when I met with several Friends to our refreshment in the Lord. And having had two meetings together in that town of Lithcoe, [Linlithgow] where the governor's wife of the castle is a Friend, we or some of us returned to this place; where sometimes the meetings are held, and sometimes at the city of Edinburgh. But for the present our meetings are but small, few strangers coming to them; for many are surprised with fear who have some inclinations in them towards the truth, but dare not appear nobly to confess the same

before men, having little of the life of the same borne up in themselves. Since my coming into these parts I have had good service, sometimes among the soldiers, sometimes among the Scots, often among Friends, who are I hope benefited already by my being here, this being not only a time of trial unto them, but unto many men who are exceeding jealous one of another. For this is a day wherein many are offended, and because of the treacherousness and falsehood that one man beholds in another, there is great hatred and emulation amongst men ; insomuch that father is against son, and son against father, one brother against another, one family against another, and one nation rising against another. What shall we say to these things ! Is it not the Lord's doing, thus to dash one potsherd against another, that he alone may reign, whose right it is ! who is now arising in his mighty power, to break his enemies to pieces, like a potter's vessel. I have sometimes since my coming here endeavoured to speak with General Monk, but could not have access to him ; so the substance of that which was upon me, as to him and the army, I wrote and gave it to his secretary, who promised to deliver it to him : I also gave his secretary a copy of the same to communicate to the officers, which he said he would do. He with several others who were then present with me, were pretty moderate and civil towards me. Friends here with others were very desirous that it should be printed, but it could not be got done here ; and therefore it is sent to Newcastle in order to be printed ; and if it be, it is like that thou with Friends may see it. I purpose shortly, God willing, to pass westward, and after I have visited Friends there, I know not to the contrary but I may return for England ; for, for the present, the door which hath been opened seems to be shut in this nation ; where the spirits of men are much set on fire, and some are promoted, others abased, and strange overturnings here are among the children of this world : but the faithful and upright are little troubled at these things, being confident that they will work together for good to those that fear the Lord. For a further account I refer thee to the bearer hereof Geo. Collison. Salute me very dearly to Friends that inquire of me, and let them know that I am well at the writing hereof, praised be the Lord ! Many things I might write of, but not knowing in

whose hands this may come,* shall therefore be sparing ;
and remain thy dear friend and brother in the pure truth.

Leith, near Edinburgh,
14th of Ninth mo. 1659.]

W. C.

Afterwards it was upon me to visit Friends in the west of that nation, which accordingly I did, to the confirming and establishing of them in the eternal truth ; and in due time after I had had some good service among them, I became pretty clear of that country, and set my face again towards England : I travelled mostly alone, after my fellow-traveller had left me, and got well (through the goodness of God) back to England again.

Upon my return from Scotland, I visited Friends again in Cumberland, and with some difficulty, (it being in the winter season and very tempestuous weather,) I got back again into Lancashire, and so to Swarthmore, which was always a place of refreshment to me.

[About this time W. C. wrote a letter to George Fox, dated from Swarthmore, 20th of Tenth month, 1659, from which the following is extracted.]

After describing his service at Edinburgh, &c. he adds, "but at that time the hearts and minds of people were so taken up with the bustlings and stirs that were among the children of this world, that there was scarce any room at

[* This surmise seems to have been realised ; for by a few lines written by the said George Collison, at Carlisle, on the back of the original letter, he states, that when he came near that city, he was stopped by two troopers, who asked him if he had any letters ; on his informing them he had one, they took him before the governor. It seems that great eagerness for information on the state of Scotland then prevailed, that nation being reported by the writer to be at this period "in a mighty uproar."]

all for the truth in them. When I returned for England, I left one Stephen Crisp in the west among Friends, who is a pretty wise man that came from Colchester ; and he was determined to stay sometime in that nation."—*Swarthmore Collection.*]

CHAPTER XIII.

1659-60.—*His service in the South of Lancashire—Attends a general meeting at Balby in Yorkshire—Travels to London, also into Sussex, Kent, and so into Norfolk—Returns to London and proceeds to Dover.*

WHEN I had continued at Swarthmore some time, it was upon me to go down into the south of Lancashire, to visit Friends and their meetings ; which accordingly I did, and several good and serviceable meetings I had in divers of the great towns in Lancashire, as at Garstang, Preston, Wigan, Liverpool, and Warrington, &c.

Being at a meeting in Warrington, the 7th of the Twelfth month, 1659, there came several rude soldiers of the baser sort, who did much abuse Friends ; and after they had done much violence to us, they broke up our meeting, and forced us out of the town : but near unto the town upon the road-side we gathered together again, and had a sweet and precious meeting ; but it was not long before the soldiers came thither also, and as I was speaking they took me violently from among the rest, and beat me, some with their muskets, and others with their spears, in the sight of Friends, to the breaking of the hearts of many. And when they had satisfied

their wills with abusing of me, they suffered me to return into the meeting again, which afterwards we kept a certain time to our great refreshment in the Lord, whose power and presence did exceedingly appear amongst us; for as our suffering at that time was greater than ordinary, even so was our refreshment in the Lord. After that I visited Friends in some parts of Cheshire and elsewhere; and when I had had exceeding good service in those parts, I returned again to Swarthmore, where I always found refreshment in the fulness of the Father's love, which abounded much among us in that blessed family.

I had not been long there, and with my own dear mother, (who about that time laid down the body, when I was with her,) but it was upon me to go southwards, first towards a general meeting of the brethren from several parts of the nation, which was at Balby in Yorkshire, and afterwards towards London; and it was so ordered that Thomas Salt-house (my dear companion and fellow-servant) together with Bridget and Isabel Fell did accompany me. When the time of our departure from Swarthmore was come, our very hearts were sad and broken within us, as they used to be at such seasons; and when with prayers and supplications unto the Lord we had earnestly interceded one for another, and had committed one another to his custody and protection, as our manner was at such times, we took leave one of another in the fulness and virtue of love and unity; and then set forwards on our journey, in the name and power of the Lord.

When we came into Yorkshire, we had some meetings before we got to the aforesaid Balby; and when we got thither we found many of the ancient brethren there, and Friends that were come from several

parts of the nation; so that the meeting consisted of many hundreds : when it was about the height, there came a part of a troop of horse to break it up, and to dismiss Friends, but they were moderate, and Friends did continue their meeting until they had freedom in the Lord to break it up. The next day we had a very large and precious meeting, not far from that place; and when we were abundantly refreshed together in the Lord, through the supreme abounding of his mercy and goodness to us, we took leave one of another in much love and unity, and every one went in peace towards his respective place where the Lord had a service for him.* And as for me, and the aforesaid Thomas Salthouse, (my dear brother,) we travelled southwards towards London, and visited Friends in our journey : and as we were travelling in Nottinghamshire, some troops met us upon the road and apprehended us, and carried us before some of their commanders, who sent us to the commissioners at Nottingham, where we were further examined by them, or some of them, and being found innocent were discharged, and suffered to pass on our journey in peace.

Coming into Northamptonshire we visited Friends at Wellingborough and thereabouts, and being sweetly refreshed among them, we took our leave of them, and travelled along until we came well, through the mercy of the Lord, unto London; where we had several precious meetings, and were more than a little comforted with the flock of God there, as oftentimes my soul had been before in that city : where I staid about two weeks, and after-

* See an account of these Meetings in George Fox's Journal, under date of 1660.

wards parted with my dear brother Thomas Salt-house.

[The following letter, descriptive of the state of things in London at this period may be here inserted ; it is taken from the Swarthmore Collection.]

London, 7th of 3rd mo. 1660.

To THOMAS WILLAN,

Dear Friend,

Our dear and unfeigned love reacheth unto thee, and to the brethren with thee, whom we dearly salute in the living Truth. We rejoice in the Lord, who lifteth up our heads above the wickedness of wicked and ungodly men, which indeed is grown to an exceeding great height in this city ; which doth exceedingly abound in pride, fulness, excess, and in all manner of superfluity of naughtiness, to the grieving of the spirits of just men, and to the making of their hearts sad, who fear the Lord and work righteousness. Yet, nevertheless, this we would have the brethren to know, that as yet we see scarce any stop at all put to the work of the Lord in the city or country. For several precious meetings we had, as we came through the country, as a letter that is coming by the carrier, makes mention of more at large than at this time we shall do. And as for the meetings, in general, in and nigh unto the city, they were, the last First day, as full, large and peaceable, even almost as Friends have at any time known them ; and abundance of sober people resorted to them and were generally quiet. — The guard of soldiers which for a season were kept at the Bull and Mouth, is now from thence removed ; and several quiet, large and precious meetings we have had there of late, since the guard was removed, which is not only removed from thence, but also from several parts of the city ; and it is reported that the citizens would have all the soldiers of the old army removed out of the city forty miles, or rather disbanded ; and they would undertake to guard and to protect both the king and parliament. The old soldiers are come in exceeding great contempt, and with the most of men they are holden in derision, and that dreadfulness which once attended them is now departed from them, and others that dreaded them are now become a dread unto them. And, indeed, now is anguish and distress come and coming upon many,

whose hearts have been nourished, and exalted, and puffed up without the fear of God; who have not regarded the cries of the oppressed, nor stood in God's counsel; but have ever boasted themselves against [those] that hewed with them once: and, therefore, is it just with the Lord to give them for a prey unto their enemies, who were a prey unto them, while they stood in God's counsel; from which many of them have departed, and therefore are they fallen, snared and taken, &c. Friends in the city are almost generally well, as far as we know. John Stubbs is gone into Kent, Richard Hubberthorne is yet in the city. The chiefest discourse among the people here is, about the king and the parliament's proceedings; who are speedily preparing the way for his coming, which is suddenly expected: but blessed be the Lord for ever, in whose power we can testify, that our King is come, who reigns in power and great glory; and therefore need not we look for another.

W. CATON, THOMAS SALTHOUSE.

London, 8th of 3rd mo.—This very day the king hath been proclaimed in an extraordinary manner; the course of people that have been in the streets this day have been innumerable; the shouting for joy hath been so exceeding great among the people at times, that the sound of many trumpets could scarce be heard, nay the bells themselves could not sometimes be heard, but the noise hath been exceedingly confused, like unto the noise of many waters. Time would fail me to relate the fantastical ceremonies that this day have been used, and the extraordinary pomp, the mayor and aldermen with the gentry have appeared in. And oh! the vanity and superfluity of wickedness which this day hath appeared in the city, my pen could not declare it in several hours' time to the utmost. But at present I have not much time, being about to go to a meeting, not knowing certainly whether this day they will or no suffer us to keep any of our meetings; for they would not suffer that at Westminster to be kept this day. This wickedness, which is now at an extraordinary height, will have an end in the Lord's time. Let this be sent to Swarthmore, after Friends have seen it at Kendal; my entire love is unto all the faithful there and elsewhere. Farewell.

W. C.

My dear love in that which is our life, is unto you all,

and if G. F. be there I would gladly hear from him, as he is free.

RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE.

As for the sufferings of Friends, which G. F. said should be given to this parliament, it is not yet a convenient time to present them, because they do not act anything till Charles come, but what is in order to the bringing of him in, and so they were but lost to be given to them at present.

London, 8th of 3rd mo. 1660.]

[Also in R. H.'s handwriting apparently.]

Accordingly as it was upon me, I went down into Surrey and Sussex, where I had very good service for the Lord, and many precious meetings I had, which were of great service at that time. At Hurst in Sussex, upon the 27th of the Third month 1660, I had a very large meeting, unto which many Friends from several parts of the county did resort, together with many others that were not Friends; and indeed an exceeding precious and serviceable meeting it was, but weighty and heavy upon me, before I went into it. But this I have often observed and found by experience, that by how much the more I felt the weight of the service of the meeting, before I went into it, by so much the more was my service in it, and my reward accordingly; blessed and magnified be the name of the Lord for ever!

At that time it was somewhat difficult travelling thereabouts, by reason of the many watches that were set with a strict order (as I was informed) to apprehend all suspicious Quakers, Baptists, and Papists; howbeit, the Lord was pleased to preserve me out of their hands. At the time called Whitsuntide, we had a very precious and large meeting near Horsham, of Friends out of four counties,

according to appointment; which we enjoyed (through mercy) pretty peaceably, to our great refreshment in the Lord; who in those days did very eminently manifest his heavenly power and presence in our assemblies, to our great consolation in Him.

After the aforesaid general meeting was over, and I was pretty clear of that county, I went into Kent, where I visited the brethren, and had many large and precious meetings in that county, which tended much to the confirming and establishing Friends in the truth, and to the convincing of those that heard the same eternal truth declared.

When I was pretty free and clear of those parts, I returned again to London, where I staid some certain time, and had special good service as I was wont to have in that city. Afterwards I went into Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, and visited Friends and their meetings in many places of the aforesaid counties, where I had as excellent good service as my heart could desire; for the Lord's refreshing presence went along with me, and the word of his power supported me, and carried me through the great and weighty service, in which I was so much exercised in that blessed day, wherein the truth did flourish and prevail mightily in very many parts of the nation; which was no small cause of joy unto us, who were witnesses of it.

And when I had had such good service as aforesaid in those parts, and was become pretty free of them, I returned again to London, where I always found service enough, and for the most part a door open in that city.—When I had been some time in it,

and had had exceeding good service there and thereabouts, it was upon me to go over to Holland; and in order thereunto I returned into Kent after I had in much brokenness of heart, and in perfect love and unity taken my leave of Friends and brethren at London. In my passing through the county I visited Friends and their meetings, as my manner was; and I staid several days at Staplehurst with Thomas Housegoe, who then lay upon his death-bed, who had been a serviceable instrument in his day in those parts; and after he was laid in the ground, we had a very precious meeting, there being many Friends at his burial.

[At Dover, he writes to his friend George Fox, under date of the 16th of Ninth month, 1660; from which letter the following are extracts.]

“ Since I came from London, I have had exceeding good service in this county, both at Sutton, Cranbrook, Tenterden, but especially at Staplehurst, and in Thomas Housegoe’s family; for it was so ordered that I came to his house the same day that he began to be very ill, and that very night I began to despair of his life; a day or two before he died, he gave a very good testimony to the truth, to the power and to the glory that is now revealed, &c. It was upon me to stay till his funeral was over, which was the last Third day; and abundance of Friends there were at it, yea, several out of Sussex, so that it was a very honourable burial; and after that his body was laid in the ground, Friends drew into the meeting-place, with several of the world, where we had an exceeding precious meeting; for the power and presence of the Lord was abundantly manifested amongst us, to the consolation of Friends in general. And that night it was upon me to return to his house again, where I had very good service, and in the morning I left them in a pretty good hopeful posture; but assuredly he will be very much missed in those parts, and I believe there will be now more necessity of Friends visiting them pretty often than there was before: I desire that thou wouldest be mindful of them. I have also been at Will.

Beeme's, and at Hythe, and at Folkestone, where I find Friends very well, but some in deep suffering for that unhallowed ordination of tithe ; some are in prison at Canterbury, and some in Dover Castle, for refusing to pay it. Yesterday I came to this town, and had a very good meeting yesternight among Friends here, who are as well as ever I knew them. Since I came to this town, I have been to see for shipping, and there are some vessels ready ; it is thought they may set sail either this night or to-morrow at night, if the wind continue fair. And I purpose, if the Lord will that I can get passage, to pass along by them to Zealand, and go from thence to Holland ; but the officers here that look after passengers are very untoward bad men ; so how the Lord will order it, I know not at present. Dearly beloved of my soul, let thy prayers be for me, that I may be kept in the power, life, and wisdom of our God, to his praise, and to the comfort and consolation of the brethren, with whom I can rest in the Lord, even in the heat of the day ; glory be to the Lord for ever. WILL. CATON."]
 [Swarthmore Collection.]

CHAPTER XIV.

1660.—*He leaves Dover for Holland—His service in several cities and places—Returns to London (1661), but soon after revisits Holland—He travels with William Ames into Germany—At Heidelberg is courteously treated by the Prince Palatine.*

ABOUT this time I passed towards Dover, where I took shipping for Zealand, in order to my going for Holland ; and after some hardship sustained at sea, (the more by reason of tempestuous weather and contrary winds,) through the providence of the Lord I got to Flushing, where I staid but little,

and passed for Middleburgh, where I visited the very few Friends that there were in the city; and afterwards I went to Treveare, where I found a vessel almost ready to sail for Dort in Holland. And truly in my journey I was exceedingly filled with the Lord's love, and the power of his might, though I was as alone, not having any Friend in company with me, but many passengers; and among the rest a Catholic, who was filled with much envy and wickedness, and uttered desperate threatening words against me, giving some to understand what a small matter it was in their account, to do a man a mischief who spoke against their religion. In the height of his wickedness he boasted of a pardon which he had in his pocket, not only for the sins he had committed, but also for what he should commit: but before we parted, the power of the Lord reached to his own witness in the man, whereby he was smitten in himself for his folly, and his fury against me was much turned into friendship towards me. Thus do we often see the Lord changing the hearts of our enemies, and restraining them from the evil they intend against us; which we must needs acknowledge to be the Lord's doing, which is and often hath been marvellous in our eyes; to him therefore be glory, honour, and dominion, for ever and ever.

Afterwards I got well to Rotterdam (through mercy,) where I found Friends very well in the Lord. And after we had been sweetly comforted together, I took leave of them, and went to the city of Leyden, where I also visited that little flock, with whom my soul at that time was comforted. From thence I passed to the city of Amsterdam, where my refreshment was augmented in the Lord

among his babes in that place, at which I arrived the sixth of the Tenth month, 1660.

Afterwards it was upon me with another Friend (called Peter Hendrix) to go into Friesland, which accordingly we did; and in due time (through mercy) we arrived well upon a First day in the morning, at a place called Dockham, where we went into the meeting of the Doopsgesinds, (*i. e.* Baptists so called,) which was indeed very large. When he that spoke had done, I stood up and began to declare the everlasting truth in their own language; but they were much divided among themselves, for some would gladly have had me, others would not suffer me; but one of the chiefest of their teachers was very moderate, and spoke to this purpose, that if I had a nearer way to God to declare, than that which they knew, or one that was more excellent than theirs, they would willingly hear me. And in order thereunto many of them came together in the afternoon, and heard me declare that way which I preferred before theirs, and affirmed it to be nearer to God, and more excellent than theirs: and little they had at that time to object against it. Before we parted they were so far satisfied, that by their great silence (in which they sat as if they had been Friends,) they seemed not to have anything further to object. After the meeting was done, the aforesaid teacher invited us to his house, and to take up our lodging there, which (for several reasons) we were free to accept of. When we got to his house at night, many people followed us, so that we had a very good meeting in his house that night. And when we had continued there sometime in very good service, we left that place and returned to Leewarden, the metropolitan city

of that province: there we found some in whom there were desires after the truth, with whom we had some meeting or meetings. Afterwards we passed to a place called Mackham, where there were also many of the aforesaid Doopsgesinds, and there we were entertained by an old man, who had been a preacher among them for many years.

When the First day came, it was upon us to go to their place of worship, which accordingly we did; and there we waited until he that was speaking had done: afterwards I began to speak, but he would not suffer me, (to wit, he that had preached,) but became presently very angry, though the people would gladly have heard me; but he would not suffer them; and he became finally so uncivil, that he put the people out of the meeting-place with his own hands; at which some being much offended, a skipper or master of a vessel, stood up and said, *Wilt ghy hem alhier niet toelaeten om te spreeken, dan sall hy tot mynents spreeken*; that is, If they would not suffer me to speak there, then I should speak at his house; and the same man came and took us to his house, where afterwards we had a pretty good meeting, and such as had desires to hear the truth (which the aforesaid angry man would not suffer me to declare in their meeting-place) those came thither, so that some very good service I had there for the Lord.

When we were free of that place, we went to Worchum, where we also had a meeting or meetings. When we were pretty clear of those parts, we returned again for Amsterdam, where we were received with joy and gladness by Friends there, who rejoiced with us in the good service which we

had had; and blessed be the Lord for our preservation.

[From this city W. C. addressed a letter to Friends in England, (as is supposed,) from which the following extracts are selected.]

O! my beloved Friends,

It is delightful to me to meditate upon the Lord's love to you, and it is a comfort and refreshment to my soul to feel you in the unity of the eternal Spirit, wherein I have daily communion with you, though I am necessitated, for the scattered seed's sake, to be much as without the camp, where the reproach is borne, with many weights and burdens, by reason of which my soul is sometimes bowed down: yet O! my friends, I share with you of that joy and peace, love and life, which abound in your tents; and therein can I rejoice with you in the midst of our trials and sufferings, though as to the outward I am far separate from you; yet know, that I have no more want and scarcity than I had when I was with you; for my heart is full of love, my mouth with praise, and mine eyes with tears, when I behold your integrity and innocence, your faithfulness and constancy, under your trials and burdens. Often is my soul poured forth unto my Father on your behalf;—unto whom a child is born, unto whom a Son is given; whose name is called the Prince of Peace, and of the increase of whose government there shall be no end. And this is He, of whom I bare testimony to the nations, though they abhor Him, and say within themselves,—‘we will not have Him to rule over us, or we will not suffer any of His messengers and servants to dwell among us, but we will imprison them, and put them to death,’ &c. And thus the Lord may suffer them to do, until they have filled up the measure of their iniquities, as the Amorites did; and then shall his iron rod be stretched over them, by which they shall be broken to pieces like a potter's vessel, who have abhorred Him, and hated Him without a cause; but in that day will he spare you, who have followed Him through great tribulation.—In the meantime, O! beloved, he will try your faith and patience; but be ye not therefore troubled, for he knows what is good for you, in whom he has chosen in these

latter days to manifest his power and glory, to the families of the earth, whose glory and dignity must be stained and brought to nothing."

[He then proceeds to give a similar narrative of his labours in Friesland, &c. though somewhat more minute than given at this place in the Journal. He afterwards adds :]

"The sudden and violent storm which ye have had in England,* hath also stirred the waters very much here, so that they rage and swell, as if they would prevail beyond the bounds which are set for them : and much mire and dirt they cast up, vending part of it forth in their currents or weekly intelligence, and part in ballads, wherein they seem to lay that chiefly to the charge of Friends which at late happened in London, as if they had conspired together to do much more than what was done : and the vulgar sort of people that have no feeling of the witness of God in themselves, they believe it ; but some sober and honest-hearted men slight it, and do not much regard it : but the baser sort hath taken a mighty occasion hereby against us, and they rage and tear as if they would swallow us up quick. And we are credibly informed that fifty of the wildest of men here have combined together, not only to break our meeting, but also to pull down the house to the ground, where we have often met : so that ye may understand, that we are here daily in as great jeopardy as they in England, that are not yet cast into prison. The last First day there were some very wicked men at our meeting, who were exceeding desperate and violent ; but blessed be the Lord ! they were not suffered to do much harm, and that which they did, was more to the house, than to Friends, who are given up to the will of the Lord, as well to suffer with you for the Truth, as to rejoice with you in the Truth.

"Now friends, ye know this day hath been long foreseen, and often have ye been told that it would come : and seeing it is come, think not these fiery trials strange which attend, though for the present they may not seem joyous ; yet without all controversy, good will be brought forth by them to some, and these things shall not

* See the Histories of England, concerning the troubles consequent upon the return of Charles II.

be in vain ; for it appears to me that they work together for the hastening of that work, which the Lord is determined to cut short in righteousness for the elect's sake. Therefore, let that reasoning part be kept under, that would say, this would hinder the work : for who art thou that reasonest with the Lord ? is not the work his ? and knowest thou better than he, what would be for the furtherance of it ? If not, be still, patient, and content ; and let him work for his Truth with us, or without us, according to the good pleasure of his Will ; who hath all power in his hand ; and this is he in whom we have believed, who commands the winds and the seas to be still, and they obey him ; have we not seen it, and are not we his witnesses ? if so, let us be patient a little, and we shall see the Lord work wonderfully. Though I have writ thus large to you at present, yet my heart is as full of love as it was when I began to set pen to paper : so in the fulness, do I most dearly salute you, and in it do I leave you, and commit you unto Him, who is of power to establish all your hearts in the living Truth, in which I remain, your dear brother in the fellowship of sufferings, in the Gospel of Peace,

WILLIAM CATON."

Amsterdam, 25th of 11th mo. 1660.

[*From the Swarthmore Collection.*]

After that I continued several months in Holland, where I had a very good service, sometimes at Atkmore, sometimes at Haarlem, sometimes at Leyden, sometimes at Rotterdam, but mostly at Amsterdam ; and I was much alone, especially about that time, for William Ames who had had very good service in those parts, was sometime in Germany, and sometime at Hamburgh : and once he travelled through Bohemia, and to Dantzic, and from thence to Poland ; and John Higgins who had been much in Holland, was seldom with me neither ; so that (I say) I was much alone in the country : but indeed the mercy and goodness of the Lord abounded very much towards me, for which

my soul hath cause for ever to praise and magnify his name.

About the time called Whitsuntide, in the year 1661, it was upon me to come over to London, chiefly to visit Friends there and thereabouts, after their great suffering. And the Lord gave me an opportunity, with two other Friends, (viz. William Welch, and Benjamin Furly;) and in due time, through the mercy of the Lord, we got well over to Harwich, and from thence to Colchester, and so to London; where I was at several precious meetings, and was more than a little refreshed with the brethren, not only at London but also at Kingston. But being pretty much pressed in spirit to return for Holland again (where there was some needful service for me, which required my hasting,) I took my leave of friends and brethren, in much love and unity at London, with whom my refreshment at that time was so great, that the remembrance of it afterwards was a great comfort to me. Afterwards we got well back to Colchester, where we had a very large and precious meeting, to our own and Friends' strength in the Lord. We then went to Harwich, from whence we passed over to Holland again, and had a prosperous and successful journey of it (blessed be the Lord,) which tended much to our encouragement.

At that time I had in hand the book, called, *An Abridgement*,* which I printed at Rotterdam; and after I had finished it, I visited Friends in most places of that country, and had several good meet-

* "An Abridgement or Compendious Commemoration of the remarkablest Chronologies which are contained in that celebrated Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius," &c. 1661. Reprinted 1689. Whiting's Catalogue.

ings among them, to their and my refreshment in the Lord.

About that time it was upon me to go into Germany, partly to visit Friends, and partly to speak with the Prince Palatine, and some else in that country : in order thereunto I took my leave of Friends in Holland with much tenderness of heart, committing them to the custody and protection of the Almighty. And about the tenth of the Seventh month 1661, I with my dear brother William Ames set forwards on our journey towards Germany, and in due time we got well to Cologne; from thence we travelled towards the Grave de Whitt's country, who had promised large liberty to all sorts of people, that would come and inhabit in his dominion. When we came there, we went to his house, and had an opportunity to speak with him; and he reasoned very moderately with us a pretty while, and we endeavoured to inform ourselves as much as we could from his own mouth, of the certainty of what was published in his name concerning liberty. But in the end, we perceived clearly from him, that his invitation, though promising liberty or toleration, was not so much out of love to tender consciences, as out of covetousness for what was theirs, as since hath more evidently appeared.

After we had had a very good time with him, and had informed ourselves sufficiently, and tried the ground from whence such things had proceeded, we parted from him, and went up into the country, and had some good opportunity to speak with some of the priests and people; and after we had satisfied and cleared ourselves, we left those parts, and travelled on our journey towards the Palz or Pala-

minate; where in due time we arrived, through the mercy of the Lord, at a place called Kriesheim, where we found a small remnant of Friends, that bore their testimony to the truth; with whom we were refreshed, after our long and pretty tedious journey. There we continued sometime, helping them to gather their grapes, it being the time of their vintage; and when we had had a time of refreshment among them, we travelled towards Heidleberg, the place of the prince's residence. Soon after we came at Heidleberg, we went to the captain of the prince's life-guard, and made known our desires to him as concerning speaking with the prince; and he was willing to procure us access to him: so that soon after, the prince sent for us to his palace, and he being at dinner, caused us to stand by him; and withal he heard very moderately what we had to say to him. Afterwards we presented several books to him, all which he kindly received from us, and was indeed very courteous to us, and reasoned very familiarly with us in the presence of the great ones that were with him; and after we had had a favourable opportunity with him, we returned again to our lodging.

In a short time after, we went up to the prince's palace again, having some further occasion to speak with him; and having free access to him, we found him very moderate and courteous to us as before. He spoke to his captain to cause us to sit down at the table with his attendants, which we found freedom in the Lord to do; for he seemed to be somewhat troubled before, when he had observed our unfreeness in that thing. After dinner we had much private discourse with him, (the Governor of Manheim being only present,) and we found him to

be pretty courteously affected towards us ; and therefore we were the more free to declare the truth in much plainness to him, and zealous in pleading Friends' cause with him, who had suffered by the priests about their tithe in his dominion. After we had spent some hours with him that day, we returned to our lodging again.

About that time we were very busy in answering several books that were extant in High Dutch against the Truth and Friends ; the answers to which we had intended to have printed here, but the printers fearing the reproof of the clergy, durst not print them for us in this city. We then departed from thence, and returned again to Friends at Kriesheim ; and when we had staid some time with them, W. A. determined to return again for Amsterdam, there to get the aforesaid books printed ; and in due time he took his leave of Friends, and I went along with him to a place called Alstone, where the governor of those parts lived. It was upon us to go to him, to lay some abuses before him that were sustained by Friends. He was moderate towards us, and a good service we had with him ; and after that he gave me an order for the officer of the place where Friends lived, for him to take care that the rude multitude did not abuse Friends. After we had been with him, we took leave of each other in the endearment of our Father's love, and he [W. A.] went for Holland, and I returned to Kriesheim again ; there I staid with Friends some certain time, and afterwards went to Heidelberg again, for I was not clear of that city. When I came there I hired a lodging in a goldsmith's house, and sometimes I went up to the prince's palace, and had good service there ; and

sometimes I was with some of the great ones, of the city, with whom I had also very good service, and some of them were very courteous and *respective* to me: and more love did appear in some of them towards me than others could well bear. Then began the enmity in the clergy to get up against me; and through the means of some that were envious against me, I with another young man, (who were all the Friends that were in that city,) were ordered to appear before the council, as also the man that entertained us; which accordingly we did, and a very good service we had, for never had there been any Friend there before: so that they had many things to query of me; and the Lord was pleased at that very time to give me enough wherewith to answer them, as also utterance, boldness, and dominion, even to the admiration of some. They were moderate towards us, and suffered me to speak pretty freely and largely among them; but in the end (that they might appear to do something,) they would have me to depart out of their city, though they had nothing to lay to my charge, except for declaring the truth, and dispersing some books which testified of the truth; nevertheless, they suffered us then to depart from their judgment-seat in peace.

Afterwards the prince came to hear of it, at which (as we were informed,) he was very highly displeased with the council for troubling us, when we had given them no just occasion. After that I went to the president's house, who had examined me before the council; and after a little discourse with him, he became pretty moderate, and did reason very familiarly with me, and asked me many things concerning our Friends in England; as also

concerning the magistrates' proceeding towards them; and I was very free to give him a full account thereof for his information. Before we parted he seemed to be very loving to me, and thanked me for the present I had given him, which was some Friends' books; and yet before the Council, my giving of such books to people was the greatest crime they had to lay to my charge, though both the prince and he did receive them from me, and accept of them.

CHAPTER XV.

1661.—*He visits Manheim and Frankfort, his ill-treatment in a Monastery—visits the Jesuists' College at Worms—At Heidleberg is introduced to the Prince—His proceedings in relation to marriage—Is married to Annekin Dirrix at Amsterdam, 1662.*

I WAS several months (yea half a-year) in that country, where I had very good service for the Lord, sometime in one place, sometime in another. I was several times at a city called Manheim, where there were a sort of Baptists, who lived together as one family, and had their goods common; with whom I was several times, and did bear my testimony among them to the truth of God, though few of them received it. I was several times with the governor of that city at his own house; and he was very courteous to me (at least seemingly,) and desired me as often as I came to the city, to come to

his house. I was also in the country with a countess (so called,) who was very loving to me, and pretty open to hear the truth; and at her house I found a great lord (so called,) who formerly had been general of the emperor's army, (as I was informed;) and a great conference I had with him in the countess' presence, who was rather one with me in her judgment than with the great man before mentioned; and after I had had some very good service with them, I left them.

I was also at Frankfort, and endeavoured to get some book or books printed there, but could not prevail with the stationers; for the books that were to be printed there, were first to be viewed by some of the clergy. When I saw I could not prevail there, I went (with a Friend) to another city called Hannau, where we got our business done; and afterwards returned again to Frankfort, one of the chief (if not the chiefest) city in Germany. And upon a certain time, I went into their chief monastery or temple, where the emperors are usually crowned; and the priests were gathering to their devotion: they were exceedingly offended with me, because I did not stand uncovered in that (they call) sacred, (though it be an idolatrous) place. Some of the priests did speak to me, and one especially was exceeding angry; and when we had spoke but a little together in Latin, he turned from me in a fury, and another that was with him fell upon me, and did beat me sorely, and there he left me bleeding in the temple, where I left pretty much of my blood behind me, as a testimony against the idolatry of that idolatrous place.

I was also in the synagogue of the Jews of that city, where I reasoned pretty much with them, and

had a good opportunity to bear a faithful testimony of the eternal truth ; though they could apprehend little of it with their dark minds, which were blinded with the god of this world, like as their forefathers were. I had also some books to dispose of among them, which for novelty's sake they coveted much after : and when I had cleared myself of them, I left them ; and in due time returned again into the Palz.

I was also at the city of Worms ; and it was upon me to go to the Jesuits' college, to reason with them, or some of them, concerning the truth of God, and their traditions, which accordingly I did. And when I came there, one that was eminent among them did soon enter into discourse with me, and spoke very feignedly to me for some time ; for at the first he seemed to have hopes (as it appeared to me) to have won or gained me to his religion ; and therefore did he seem to be the more ready and willing to resolve me in whatsoever I propounded, so far as (I believe) he well could. But when he saw I did notwithstanding lay open their apostacy, and boldly gave my testimony against their inventions, superstitions, and traditions, he could scarcely contain himself from breaking out into a passion. I had spent some hours in dispute with him, in the presence of several that belonged to the college, for whom he was as the mouth for the whole. When I had cleared my conscience, and borne a faithful testimony unto the truth among them, I left them, and returned again to Kreisheim, where our Friends inhabited ; for sometimes I was there, sometimes at Heidleberg, and sometimes elsewhere, where I saw the Lord had a service for me.

[*Extract from an Epistle addressed to Friends in London, by William Caton, dated Kreisheim, near Worms, in Germany, 30th of 11th mo., 1661. This instructive Epistle is printed at large in Besse's Sufferings, vol. ii., p. 451.*

“ We have cause to praise and magnify the Lord God omnipotent for ever, who doth not only comfort and refresh us in our tribulations, through the consolations of his eternal Spirit, but also hath prepared a refuge for us, which we have truly found in his eternal light and pure power. And now if no storm had come, then I believe there would not have been such flocking and flying to this refuge, as there hath been, and as there is, and as, I hope, there will be ; therefore, if the storm of persecution do drive such as were neither cold nor hot from under their green trees of specious pretences and fair shows of religion and reformation, to this sure hiding place or refuge, which is in the eternal light, life, and power, which you have now made manifest, then will it be good in its season. Therefore let none be afraid of it who are faithful in their measures ; for indeed our heavenly Father is so abundant in mercy and goodness to his people, that if he suffers storms and tempests to arise, he doth not only still them, but even in the very time of them he covereth his dear babes with the banner of his everlasting love, so that truly they needed not to fear, though sometimes they that are tender and young among them may be too much afraid. And forasmuch as I know that the refuge before mentioned is known to you, and the covering of the Lord's eternal Spirit manifested in you, (which is the banner of his love spread over you,) therefore I beseech you to be of good courage in the Lord : for to what end should you fear ? to what end should you be troubled ? to what end should you take thought ? You know that neither fear of heart, trouble of mind, nor yet taking of thought, can in anywise avert these things. And if it be the good pleasure of the Almighty to purge and refine you in the furnace of persecution, (as heretofore he hath done with many of his witnesses in the world,) think it not strange that it should be so with you : but rather think it strange that the Lord hath so long dealt so gently with you, and that he hath so remarkably restrained the violence of the mighty, who have risen up against you, as if they would

have devoured you at once. But behold, how have they been abased, brought down from their seats, and overturned ; and though they have, as it were, bruised your heel, yet they have not prevailed against the Lamb, the captain of your salvation ; neither have they overcome you, whose faith hath stood in the power of the Most High, through which you have overcome, and not by the force of arms, nor by might of princes, nor by the greatness of your multitude. Remember, therefore, these things ; and strengthen ye one another in the faith and in the patience ; and look ye alone unto the Lord, and hearken and hear what his Spirit saith in you and to you.

“ When the spirit of enmity rules in a dominion, there is not much liberty to be expected by us to be enjoyed in matters of religion ; for it is well known to you, how through that spirit we have suffered from the beginning, which hath wrought mightily against us in our native country. In these countries here are three sects tolerated, viz. the Papists, the Lutherans, and the Calvinists ; and all these have their particular government in their particular cities and villages ; and all of them are addicted to persecute those that are not of their sect. But above all others they seem to be bent against us, as the most offensive, irregular, and perturbative people that are of any sect ; and notwithstanding the great variance that is and hath been among themselves, yet they can, as it were, join hand in hand against the truth and us. As for the Papists, they hate us as new up-started heretics, whom they account worthy of death : and the Protestants, they revile us and upbraid us, as if we were the Pope’s emissaries ; and many of them esteem us as not fit to live upon the earth : so that as much as in them lies, they seek to toss us to and again, as a ship upon a troubled sea. But thanks be to God, our anchor holds ; so that they, with all their hard threatening, which proceed from their rocky hearts, cannot split our confidence, nor make shipwreck of our faith ; which is in the Lord Jehovah, who is over all, blessed for evermore !”]

Upon a certain time when I was at Heidleberg, there came two of my dear brethren to the city, viz. John Stubbs and Henry Fell, who had been at

Alexandria in Egypt, and in Italy, &c. The post-master of the place seeing them, did bring them to my lodging, (for he knew me well,) for they had no knowledge of my being in the city; presently after, came the captain of the prince's life-guard, having seen them in the street; and he being a very courteous man to us, discoursed very friendly and familiarly with us, and afterwards told the prince of the aforesaid Friends being in the city. Soon after, the prince sent his secretary to my lodging to desire us to come up to the castle to speak with him, which accordingly we did; and when we came there, he began to speak friendly and familiarly to us, as his manner was, and did ask them much concerning their travels, and how it had been with them, &c. And a very gallant opportunity we had with him in the presence of the nobles, (so called,) that were conversant with him. After he had discoursed long with us, he parted very lovingly from us, and soon after we went out of the city.

When the aforesaid brethren were with me, I received some letters out of Holland, whereby I was informed of the death of Niesie Dirrix, of Amsterdam, who had been a dear, extraordinary, and special friend of mine, and a true and faithful servant to the flock of God in the Low Countries; of whose love and virtue, faithfulness, and good service which she did in her day, a volume might be writ: so that when I heard of her departure, my heart was very much saddened, and broken within me; and indeed it was more than I could well bear; but the aforesaid brethren being with me, they bore with me; and the Lord he supported me in that heaviness, and comforted me with the promise and assurance which I had from him, of his raising and

bringing her sister Anneken Dirrix (with some else) into her love, life and spirit, to perform that or the like service for the Lord which she had done.

In process of time, something came before me and upon me, as from the Lord (which afterwards did more fully appear,) concerning my taking Anneken Dirrix to wife; unto which I took little heed at first, but sought rather totally to expel all such cogitations out of my mind; yet, behold, by how much the more I seemed to extinguish the appearance of such a thing, by so much the more did it prevail in me, and came to be clearer and clearer to me; which when I observed, I began to weigh the thing more seriously, and to hearken more diligently, to see what the Lord would require of me concerning it, and what the effects of it might be. And many things the Lord was pleased to show me concerning it; as in reference to the service that there might be in it as to the Truth and Friends; and how helpful I might be to her, in assisting her in effecting that service which I saw in the light of the Lord would be required of her after the removal of her dear sister, who had been to her as her right hand; together with several other things which for the present I may omit to mention.

Thus did the thing for a pretty long time remain very fresh in me, both night and day, and abundance of objections came in my mind in many respects concerning it; but withal matter sufficient wherewith to answer them. And after I had very much tried and discussed the thing in the light of the Lord in my own heart, and in due time found it to be of the Lord, I began to acquiesce and to rest satisfied in myself, through giving up to the will of the Lord in the matter; but did not once open

my mouth of it to any for the space of many weeks, (I might say months,) nay, not while I remained in Germany.

And withal it was about that time shown me how I should proceed in the matter, viz. : I was to keep it secret until I came into Holland, and then I should motion it to some of the brethren, before I should once mention it to her either by word or writing ; and if they did own it and approve of it, I should thereby be so much the more assured that it was of the Lord.

When I had been about half a year in Germany, and had had very good service, especially in the Palatinate, it was upon me to return again for Holland, which accordingly I did. When (through the mercy of the Lord) I was gotten well thither, I visited friends, (as my manner was,) and we were sweetly refreshed together. And as for the aforesaid Anneken her love abounded to me, and mine did the like to her in the Lord. And in due time when I had a good opportunity with some of the dearest of the brethren in those parts, I spoke with them about the aforesaid matter, and gave them an honest account of the ground and rise of it, &c. After they had pondered upon it, and weighed it in the light of the Lord, they made known to me the unity they had with the thing, and how their hearts were affected with it, and what service there might be in the thing, as to the Truth and Friends in those parts ; by all which I was the more confirmed in the matter, and further satisfied concerning its being of the Lord. And in some certain time when I had a convenient opportunity to speak with her about it, I began to tell her in much humility and fear, (as before the Lord)

what was entered into my heart in Germany : and how it was upon me at that time to acquaint her with it ; and then I did open the very ground of the matter to her, and told her at large how it had been with me in the thing : and that I desired her to consider of it, and that except she did also see and feel something of it, as from the Lord, she should let it cease, and speak no further of it. And withal I had three things to propound to her, which I was to leave to her consideration, and unto which I desired in due time to have her answer : The first was, it was upon me to give her to understand, that as for matter of estate, mine was not like unto hers, for I had not much as to the outward : and she was to consider whether she could notwithstanding consent unto the thing. Secondly, she was to consider how I was to expect my liberty (which was more to me than the treasures of Egypt) to go abroad in the service of the Lord, as I had done before, whether it was to visit Friends, or upon any other service for the Lord, or upon the truth's account ; this she was also to consider beforehand, that when the thing came to pass, it might not seem strange to her. Thirdly, she was to consider how if the thing should come to pass, there might peradventure follow some trouble, either from the magistrates, or from some of her relations, or other discontented spirits, who might be dissatisfied with the thing ; and therefore she was to consider whether she could bear that or no.

These three things I left to her consideration, and when she was free, she was to return me an answer thereunto, which in several weeks after she did. As to the first she said, it was not means that she looked after, but virtue : and as to the

second she said, that when I was moved of the Lord to go upon any service on account of the truth, whether to visit Friends or otherwise, she hoped that she should not be the woman that would hinder me upon such an account. And as to the last, she said, that if the Lord did once bring the thing so far as to be effected, she hoped to bear what people without should say, (when we were perfectly clear in the thing before the Lord,) for that would be one of the least crosses.

And upon a certain time (many weeks after the thing was first propounded to her,) she opened her heart to me, and told me, how much such a thing had been upon her, while I was yet in Germany, though I had not written a word of it to her; and how that, though she desired much to see me, yet because she feared such a thing would come upon her at my return, she desired therefore I might have staid the longer out of Holland: and when I heard those things, I was confirmed afresh in myself, that the thing must needs be of the Lord, seeing he had made her so sensible of it as well as myself. And many weeks afterwards we waited upon the Lord, to know his will and mind yet further concerning us in the thing.

In the mean time I wrote of it to several of the brethren in England, whose answers in due time I received, and compared them together, and behold I found them unanimously agree in their mutual approbation of the step, which also was a further confirmation to me of its being of the Lord; yet in all this time we did not certainly know whether it would come to pass or no. We also were determined to keep clear from binding ourselves by promise; as some that are unwise have done, yea,

and have resolved to accomplish the thing, though Friends should be against it ; nevertheless will they ask advice, and that when it is too late. But this we resolved to avoid, to the end that we might be the better example ; for it lay upon me that if the affair came to pass, it should be carried on in such wisdom, as that it should not only be of good report among the brethren, but that it should also be exemplary to them that should afterwards follow us in things of that nature ; for it was the first marriage in those parts that was according to the approved manner and practice among Friends.

After we had waited long in the affair, and when several months were expired, and I had imparted it to several Friends in Holland, by word of mouth, and did not meet with any opposition, upon a certain time she was moved to come to me ; and soon after was exceedingly broken, and wept as I may say in an excessive manner : for then it was upon her to give up herself in the will of the Lord, and she was moved to speak these words, “ We are no more twain but one flesh,” &c. When I heard her speak these words with such a flood of tears, I confess I was somewhat moved thereby, but did not at that instant feel the life so immediately answering to the thing, as I desired upon such an extraordinary occasion ; but waiting awhile exceeding steadfastly in the light of the Lord, the life began to arise, and the word of the Lord testified unto me thus, saying, “ She is the gift of the Lord to thee.” Then was my heart also broken, and in the fulness of love and unity in the everlasting covenant did I receive her as the Lord’s gift unto me. And oh ! how were our hearts and souls overcome and refreshed through the infinite love of God ; for as

we had desired that our joining together might be entirely by the Lord, that we might have the evident testimony of his eternal Spirit in ourselves, even so it came to pass, to our great comfort in the Lord.

After we were thus joined together by the Lord, and in his presence, it was upon me to write of it into the north of England, to have it published in that honourable meeting at Swarthmore, unto which I belonged, which accordingly was done, to Friends' great satisfaction. In the mean time I proceeded to the publishing of it in our meeting at Amsterdam, which I did three times one after another, without any opposition ; but on the contrary public testimonies were given of it by Friends in the public meeting. Finally when the time was come that the marriage should be perfected, there was a general meeting at Amsterdam of Friends from several parts of that country, who were eye-witnesses of our accomplishing of it in the fear and wisdom of the Lord, and in the unity of his Spirit, the last day of the 8th mo. 1662. When it was accomplished as aforesaid, all the men Friends that were then and there present at the meeting, did subscribe their names to a certificate, which for the future was for such as might desire to have an account of the matter for their satisfaction and information.

The same day after the meeting was done, did we bring W. Ames's body to the ground, who had finished his testimony, and left a good savour behind him. Though we went as wisely to work as we could to prevent a tumult ; yet nevertheless on a sudden the rude people were gathered together, and became so tumultuous, that not without pretty much

difficulty we could get through them with the corpse, which finally was laid in the ground; and afterwards the multitude was very rude, and Friends were pretty much abused; howbeit, through mercy we were all preserved.

CHAPTER XVI.

1662.—*He returns to England; when in London, he sees Edward Burrough in Newgate shortly before his death—Travels into Surrey, Sussex, and Kent; is apprehended at Folkestone, but is discharged—Again visits Holland, and returns with his wife: travels into Warwickshire, &c. and arrives at Swarthmore.*

AFTER our marriage I continued several weeks with my dear wife, and the Lord was pleased very much to comfort and refresh us together with his infinite lovingkindness which abounded to us, and with his heavenly blessings which he caused to descend upon us; for which our souls have cause for ever to praise and to magnify his name. Afterwards I went out upon the service of truth, to visit Friends in other places, as I had done before. In less than three months after I married, it was upon me to go for England; and in order thereunto I took leave of my dear wife, and the rest of Friends in those parts; and about the 25th of the 11th month 1662, I embarked for England; and in due time (through the mercy of the Lord) I got well to Colchester, where I was sweetly refreshed with Friends, as I was wont to be in that place.

Afterwards I went into the country, where I had several good and precious meetings. And when I had visited Friends in the country, I went up to London with another dear brother, and there I was also sweetly refreshed as I was wont to be among the flock of God, and especially at Newgate with dear Edward Burrough, who was then a prisoner there; but in less than two weeks after he was released from his bonds, for the Lord removed him out of this evil world, that he might reward him with life everlasting in the world without end.

When I had been certain days in London, it was upon me to go down into Surrey, Sussex, and Kent, which accordingly I did, and visited Friends in Surrey, and had some very good meetings among them, to our refreshment in the Lord, being accompanied by my dear brother Joseph Fuce. Afterwards we went to Horsham in Sussex, and visited our Friends and Brethren that were in prison there; after which we had some good meetings in that county: and I being at a meeting at Hurst, was in much danger of being apprehended through the envy of a wicked priest; but the Lord restrained the officers from executing his will, and therefore I was preserved out of their hands.

After that we passed into Kent, visiting Friends and their meetings in our travels, as our manner was: at Staplehurst we had a precious general meeting, after which we parted in the fulness of brotherly love; he [Joseph Fuce] went back into Sussex again, and I went towards Dover. When I came to Foulstone [Folkestone] I attended a general meeting there; and the officers of the town, whilst I was speaking, came into the meeting, and apprehended me, and carried me before the mayor;

who being pretty moderate, would finally have set me at liberty, if I would but have promised him, that if I went to the meeting again, I would speak no more in it, which thing I could not in any wise promise, and gave him my reason why I could not ; upon which he sent me to prison : and that same day afterwards we were had twice before the mayor (there being others with me,) who finally discharged us all that night. After that I took leave of Friends there (it being the First day of the First month, 1663,) and went to Dover, where I had a very good, serviceable and refreshing meeting among Friends ; and being comforted together in the presence of the Lord, I left them, and went to a general meeting in East Kent, and from thence to Canterbury, and so to Rochester, visiting Friends, and from thence to London. I staid several days in that city, where I had several good and precious meetings : and afterwards (according as it was upon me,) I went from thence into the country again, in order to my returning over for Holland ; and several good meetings I had in the country at my return, to the renewal of our strength in the Lord.

When the Lord of his mercy had thus prospered my journey, and made it successful, he also gave me a good opportunity to return again for Holland ; where in due time I arrived (about the tenth of the Second month, 1663,) to mine and Friends' great refreshment in that country, and especially of my dear wife ; with whom I staid not very long at her habitation, but as it was upon me, went from city to city, visiting Friends and their meetings : and the Lord was with me, in whose living presence we were comforted together as in months past.

But I had not staid above three months in those

parts, when it was upon me to go for England again: and about that time my dear wife having longing desires (with some other Friends at Amsterdam,) to see Friends in England; she and they determined to go along with me, which accordingly they did; and through the good hand of the Lord we got to Harwich about the twenty-ninth of the Fourth month, 1663, where we had a very good meeting with Friends, to our refreshment. From thence we went to Colchester, where we also had a good meeting. On the First day following, we were at a general meeting in the country, unto which many Friends and others resorted; and when I came there I understood that the constable had been there before me, and that he was determined to come again to break up the meetings: however, when Friends were gathered, I went in among them in the name and power of the Lord; and when I had sat but a little in the meeting, my heart was full of the word of life, which I had to communicate to the congregation, and a very gallant and precious meeting it was. When I had done speaking, and was sat down, the constable came into the meeting, with his warrant subscribed by several justices; but he knew not me from the rest. Moreover, there being a woman Friend speaking, he troubled himself a little with her; but afterwards he went away, and my liberty was preserved for future service, through the mercy and goodness of the Lord God. Afterwards we visited Friends at Coxhall [Coggeshall] and Witham, to their and our refreshment in the Lord.

In some short time after, we went up to London, where we were much comforted with Friends; who rejoiced more than a little to see people of another

nation, and of a strange language, brought into the same living truth in which they were established, and to bear the same image that they bore, and to be comprehended in the same love, which the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ had shed abroad so richly among them. And when we had been very sweetly refreshed with Friends in several precious meetings in the city and elsewhere, we went to Kingston to a general meeting there; and one of the Dutch Friends was moved to speak pretty much in the meeting, and I interpreted for her; with which Friends were much affected and refreshed, feeling the same life and power in her that dwelt in us, giving testimony to the same eternal Truth; this, I say, did much refresh Friends, and confirm them in the present truth.

After that we returned to London, where we were comforted together as before; but we staid not long there then, for it was upon me to go into the north; and it was upon my dear wife, and the rest of Friends, to return again for Holland; and in order thereunto, I with several dear Friends, did accompany them aboard, where I took my leave of them, and committed them to the custody and protection of the Almighty.

In a short time after I also took my leave of Friends in the city, and pursued my journey northwards; and when I came into Warwickshire, I met with my dear friend Margaret Fell, and two of her dear children, as, also two dear brethren, (viz.) Thomas Salthouse, and Leonard Fell; and truly our rejoicing was more than a little in the Lord, having not seen one another for a long time before. We travelled together into Staffordshire, and there parted, some went for the north, some

for Derbyshire; I returned again to a general meeting in Warwickshire, and went afterwards to Warwick, Coventry, &c., and visited Friends in several places in that county, where I also met with dear George Fox to my refreshment. After that I went into Derbyshire, and had a meeting in the city of Derby, and visited Friends elsewhere in that county: and then I went into some part of Nottinghamshire, where I met with dear M. F. again; and afterwards we went to Chesterfield, where we had a very good meeting. We then went into Yorkshire (visiting Friends as we went) to a place called Sinderhill Green, where dear G. F. met us: and there we had a gallant general meeting together.

Afterwards we went to Balby, where we staid some days, and many Friends resorted thither, so that a good time of refreshment we had together: after which I took my leave of Friends, for it was upon me to hasten towards Swarthmore in Lancashire, which accordingly I did, but visited Friends by the way as my manner was, to our mutual comfort in the Lord. In due time, through the goodness of the Lord, I got well to Swarthmore, where I had not been for some years; and there I was received in abundance of love, and very sweetly I was refreshed with the remainder of the family. And when the First day came, a very precious meeting we had, to the refreshing of the whole body of Friends that were then and there present; for the power and presence of the Lord God was much amongst us, which was the cause of our great consolation in the Lord: blessed be his name for ever and ever.

CHAPTER XVII.

1663.—*He visits Friends in Cumberland—Proceeds into Durham—At Scarborough takes shipping for Holland, but reaches Yarmouth Roads—is driven back by storm again to Yarmouth, where he is committed to prison from Eighth month 1663, to Second month 1664.*

AFTER being at Swarthmore I went to Lancaster, Kendal, and other places, and visited Friends in those parts to our mutual comfort. And it was upon me to go into Cumberland, which accordingly I did, so far as to the city of Carlisle, where I visited Friends in prison, and there (even in the prison) I had a very precious meeting; and afterwards I visited Friends in several parts of that county, to our great refreshment in the Lord.

When I was clear of that county, I returned again to Swarthmore, and there I found dear G. F. Dear M. F. was also returned home, which tended to the augmenting of my rejoicing which was great at that time with them, the family, and Friends. I had not been long there when it was upon me to return again for Holland: but in the interim I went over to Lancaster to a general meeting which was held there in the assize week; and some occasion I had with some of the justices, as in reference to a certificate, which three of them granted me under their hands and seals, (there being then reports of a plot,) and for preventing my being stopped upon suspicion without cause; I therefore

had their certificate, and returned again to Swarthmore ; where I staid but a little, when I took my leave of them in the fulness of endeared love, and with pretty much brokenness of heart, and so I left them, being accompanied by several of the brethren into Westmorland ; and after we were much comforted together there, we took leave one of another, and parted asunder in the same love and unity in which we had been so plenteously refreshed together.

Afterwards I travelled into the bishoprick, and visited Friends there, and went to Durham, and visited those that were in prison ; and from thence I went to Sunderland, and had a general meeting betwixt Sunderland and the Shields. Upon inquiry after shipping for Holland, I heard of several that were preparing to go over, but the wind being contrary, and being desirous to visit more Friends, I travelled along the country (not far from the sea-side,) visiting Friends, as I went both at Shotton, Stockton, Whitby, and elsewhere, and had some very good meetings. When I came to Scarborough, I heard of vessels there also, that were intended for Holland. After I had had a very good opportunity with Friends there, to their and my refreshment, the wind being fair, and the ships ready to sail, I took my leave of Friends, and went aboard one ; but soon after, we met with contrary winds : howbeit, we got up as far as Yarmouth Roads, and there waiting awhile, the weather being pretty good, we set sail again, intending to run over, if the Lord permitted. When we were got about ten leagues, I was much persuaded we should have a storm, and told the master of it, and would have had him return again for England ; it being

then indifferent weather, he did not much mind my words, but endeavoured to press forwards, though the wind was contrary. But that night following, according to my persuasion and expectation, we had a very sore tempestuous storm, and our ship proved very leaky; so that what with pumping and other extraordinary work, the men were exceedingly wearied and toiled; and as to outward appearance we were in much danger, for about the very height of the storm in the night season we lost the use of the helm for a time, so that the poor men were in great distress. In the mean while my soul interceded with the Most High, who heard my requests, and granted my desires; though for my own part, I was freely given up to the blessed will of the Lord, if it had been to have made my grave in those great deeps: but the Lord was determined to show mercy unto us, which evidently appeared, in his bringing us, through such apparent danger among the sands, even finally back to the English coasts again: for which extraordinary mercy my soul hath cause for ever to bless, praise and magnify his glorious name.

Afterwards we got well (through mercy) into Yarmouth Roads again, and the wind remaining contrary, we put into the haven, and I went up to the town, where I waited some days for the wind. In the mean time the First day of the week came, and it was upon me to go to the meeting of Friends, which accordingly I did; and about the end of it, there came several officers and soldiers, and apprehended seven Friends, besides myself, who were strangers in the town, (five of whom belonged to one vessel;) and they carried us to the main-guard, where they kept us that night; and very good service we had with the officers and among the soldiers;

and the next morning we were brought before the bailiffs of the town, who tendered us the oath of allegiance; and because we refused to take it, or any oath whatsoever, we were committed to prison upon the fourth day of the Eighth month, 1663, and continued in prison until the 22nd of the Second month, 1664; and then I with the rest of my fellow-prisoners were discharged.

END OF THE JOURNAL.

The following interesting Epistles, nearly all of which are from the Swarthmore Collection, will serve to carry on the narrative beyond the period of the termination of the Journal.

WILLIAM CATON TO FRIENDS.

“Yarmouth Common Gaol,
Ninth of Eighth month, 1663.

“Dear and affectionately beloved Friends,

“In the everlasting fellowship of the Gospel of peace (into which we are brought through the arm of God’s eternal power) do I dearly and tenderly salute you ; who are dear and near unto me in the truth of God, which he hath made known unto us, to the comfort and consideration of our souls ; whereby he hath engaged us above all the families of the earth to love and to serve him with reverence and godly fear. And though they that are without, do judge we are losers through our knowledge of the Truth, yet we find that we are become gainers through it ; for if we lose the love and peace and liberty, which the world in times past hath afforded us, we have gained the peace of God and liberty in his eternal Spirit ; if we lose that honour and treasure which was of the world, and which we have had in the world, we are honoured of our God with bearing his name, and we are become sharers, with the rest of his sanctified ones, of heavenly treasure, which the world cannot give us, neither can it take away from us. So that whosoever deem or imagine we are losers through our coming to be of this way, or by our coming to the knowledge of this eternal Truth, I say, nay ; for the things that we have lost by reason of it (being but as dross and dung,) are not worthy to be compared to what we have gained through it. Shall not we therefore love the Truth ? and shall not we be

willing to suffer the loss of all this world can afford us for its sake? For can we have a better cause to suffer for than the Truth? can we suffer upon a more honourable account, than upon the Truth's account, upon the account of which all the righteous men, who have suffered in all ages, have suffered? And who are we that we should be called to this high and honourable calling?—or that we should be accounted worthy to become witnesses of this ancient Truth in this generation, to bear our testimony unto it with the rest of the faithful witnesses, servants and handmaids of the Most High! The consideration of these things I confess might even be enough to break and overcome our hearts, and to engage us, as it were, afresh unto our God, who hath chosen us and loved us, before we loved him or made choice of him to be our Lord and God; and whom we have found to be so exceeding gracious and merciful to us-ward. Let our souls and spirits therefore praise and magnify him for ever and ever!

“And now, Friends, you may hereby understand, how that after I had had a very precious opportunity with many of you in the north, to my great refreshment in the Lord, I was clear in myself to return again for Holland; and in order thereunto, I passed towards the sea-coasts; and when I came there, I heard of ships that were near ready to go for Holland, both at Newcastle and Sunderland; but the wind being out of the way or contrary, and I being desirous to improve my time to the utmost, and withal being very desirous to see as many Friends as I could before I took shipping, I travelled therefore along the coasts towards Whitby and Scarborough, and had some very good and precious meetings among Friends by the sea-side. And finding a ship ready at Scarborough, and the wind being good, I went aboard her; but the wind came contrary again: howbeit we kept out at sea and that for the space of nine days, whereas if the wind had been good we might have sailed it in two days. But finally a tempestuous storm came upon us, of which I had had some sight before, and told the master of it, and would have had him return again for England; and indeed it was so violent that as to outward appearance we were in very imminent danger; and the more so because our ship had gotten a sore leak, or rather more than one, and sometimes the pump was so out of order that it would do them no service, and besides they

had lost the use of their helm, even in the very height of the storm. And in the mean time the ship was in no small danger of being foundered or overset; and as for the poor men they were as if they had been plunged into the sea, and by reason of their continual pumping, besides the extraordinary toil they had with the sails, they were so exceedingly wearied out, that their courage and strength were very much departed from them. In which time I did much intercede with the Lord, and did with much fervency of spirit wrestle with him, that if it was his will their lives might be spared, and we preserved out of that extreme danger; though as for my own part I found myself exceeding freely given up to bequeath my soul into his bosom of everlasting love, and my body to be buried in that great deep: indeed I confess I could sometimes expect little else. At that time I could have bid you all farewell, and all that in this world I do enjoy, and could have gone unto my everlasting home in peace with my God; who even then beheld my meditations and intercessions; and because he loved me, was he prevailed withal, even for his mercy's sake, who was determined, as appeared, to show mercy unto us. For when we were near unto the sands (where dear Hugh Tickhil's wife and another Friend were cast away, as I am informed, in their passing for Holland,) the Lord was pleased to cast us betwixt two sands, which if our ship had come to strike upon either, she must in an instant have become a wreck. But blessed be the name of the Lord who preserved us out of that imminent danger, whereby he hath exceedingly engaged me unto him, and his unspeakable mercy I hope shall be held in a perpetual remembrance by me his servant; who at this time do make mention of this remarkable deliverance unto you, to the end that you may know how good the Lord hath been to me, and that you with me may return thanks unto him; not only for his mercies in general to usward, but for this to me in particular; the consideration and sense of which hath more than a little broken my heart, which hath been filled with praises unto the Most High.

Moreover, Friends, I would have you understand, that the Lord having delivered me out of the storm before-mentioned by sea, he hath suffered me to come into another by land among unreasonable men, who are

even like unto the waves of the sea ; but he that limits the one, limits the other ; and I am confident that he that hath preserved me in the one, will in due time deliver me out of the other. By contrary winds, after we had been nine days at sea or thereabouts, we put in here at Yarmouth ; and I being here on a First day did go to the meeting of Friends, which was a precious peaceable meeting : at the end of it, when we were standing up to depart, came there officers and many soldiers, and carried eight of us away prisoners to the main-guard, where they kept us that night among the soldiers ; and the next day we were carried before the magistrates of the town, who presently tendered the oath unto us. For my part I told them, I had never sworn an oath in my life but one that I knew of, and that was when I was a boy ; and I had known the terrors of the Lord against the thing, and therefore I durst not swear again. But without any respect to my or our tender consciences, they committed us to the common gaol ; and so much confidence they had that we would be true to our principle, that they had made out our mittimus beforehand, yea, before they examined us ; wherein the only thing charged against us was for refusing to swear. We were all strangers to the town, come occasionally and accidentally to it ; for five of the Friends belonged to one vessel in the town, who were come hither to load with herrings for the Straits, one of them was the merchant, another the master, another his mate, and the other two seamen ; the others are Friends out of the country : and there are warrants out for the apprehending of Friends in the town also. And very high they are (as the sea was for a season ;) and they keep Friends from us, and would force us to have what we have occasion for of the gaoler, which we cannot consent unto, though we suffer five times more than we do at present. But notwithstanding their fury and rage against us, it is well with us,—blessed be the Lord ; and resolved we are, in his name and power, to bear our testimony for the Lord in this place, as many of our brethren have done elsewhere. And as for my own part I am perfectly satisfied in the will of the Lord, not so much admiring at my present bonds, as I have admired sundry times that I have been so long kept out of bonds ; unto which I have long been freely given up in the will of God, where my soul is in peace with the

Lord. So unto him who hath gathered you by the arm of his power, and who is able to preserve you unto the end, whose name is called the Lord of hosts, unto him do I commit you all ; with whom I remain, in the unity and fellowship of the eternal Spirit of life, your dear friend and brother,

“WILLIAM CATON.”

On the other half-sheet is the following :

“Thos. Willan, my dear and ancient Friend,

“I desire thy care about this general epistle, which I would have communicated to Friends to be read in their meetings : I desire that a copy of it may be sent into Cumberland, and that the original or a copy of it may be sent by the first opportunity to Swarthmore. I hope thou wilt hear it thyself, so that I shall not stand to repeat anything in it ; but shall refer thee to it for an account of passages.* My dear love is to all Friends in town and in the country thereabouts ; whom thou mayest give to understand, according to thy freedom, that I am well in the Lord, in whom I remain, thy dear friend and brother,

“WILLIAM CATON.”

Extract from an Epistle of W. Caton to Friends, dated a few days after the preceding one ; it is from a collection of copied letters from Colchester.

“Dear Friend,

“How near at hand we found Him unto us, even as a rock of defence to fly unto, in our greatest straits, difficulties and temptations ! And what free access have we had unto Him through his eternal Spirit in ourselves, when by gaols, houses of correction, force of arms, or the like, we have been hindered from having access one

* This word “passages” is of frequent use in these letters ; it also occurs in G. F.’s testimony at the commencement of this Journal, who calls it a “journal of passages ;” it appears to mean travels or services in the Gospel.

unto another, or from meeting together in the outward ! How did we rejoice in the Lord, when he covered our heads as in the day of battle, even until the fury of the wicked came to be abated !

“ And forasmuch as in these perilous times, we cannot well serve our God in that way in which He requires us to walk, without being in jeopardy of bonds and imprisonments, or of having other sufferings imposed upon us, by reason of our meeting together to wait upon the Lord ; it doth so much the more concern us to feel the drawing of our God by his eternal Spirit to our meetings ; that when we are met, we may so much the more enjoy His presence to the refreshment of our souls. And then if we suffer for waiting upon him, he will not leave us comfortless in that suffering ; neither will it be grievous to us, while we keep in *that* through which we enjoyed him in our meetings, for *in that* we may enjoy him in our sufferings : and then it will be better to be one day in prison with the Lord, than a thousand elsewhere without the enjoyment of His presence, in which we have found (as you know) much joy and peace, much comfort and consolation.

I suppose many of you have heard of my bonds,—how that after God, of his mercy, had delivered me out of a mighty violent storm at sea, I was cast in here ; where they in authority have shown themselves to be worse to me and the Friends with me, than the barbarous people of Melita were to Paul and them that were with him ; who showed them no small kindness, for they received and lodged them courteously. But these that are called Christians, showed themselves far from courteous, in that they broke up our meeting with many soldiers, and afterwards committed us to prison ; and instead of showing us much kindness, they have been so cruel to us, as that sometimes it was difficult for us to get water and bread. Howbeit, the Lord is with us, and their cruelty hath been little to us ; for we know that our God will, in his own due time, deliver us out of their hands, when our testimony is sufficiently borne. Of this I am very sensible, that with the baptism of suffering under this spirit of persecution in the nation, many are to be baptized into the fellowship of the Gospel with the saints in light. And blessed and thrice happy are they, and will they be, that continue faithful

unto the end,—for they shall be saved. Farewell in the Lord, in whom I remain your dear friend and brother,

“WILLIAM CATON.”

“Yarmouth Common Gaol,
14th of 8th month, 1663.”

“Dear Brethren, T. S. and J P.,

“Yours dated the 12th of last month I have this afternoon received, to my refreshment in the seed immortal ; in which I feel your love extending to me, and perceive your sympathizing with me in these my bonds ; in which the Lord hath been pleased to try me a little, together with the rest of my fellow-prisoners, even as he hath tried many who are now at liberty as I was, when they have been as I am : but blessed be the Lord it hath been a good time for me ; and as I think I told you before, much I have enjoyed of the Lord since my confinement, and his love is perfectly continued unto me, in which my soul doth solace itself night and day. And much I could say unto you, if I were with you and the rest of our dear and near relations in that blessed family, who know my voice and integrity, my love and simplicity,—which is also pretty much known to many more, whom I love in the Lord. In these parts I find the love of Friends to be much to me ; but they are but seldom permitted to come in to us, for the bailiffs do absolutely gainsay it, for fear (as they pretend) lest they should bring in ammunition to us, books or letters, &c.—Howbeit, in eight weeks’ time, through the providence of the Lord and our patient long suffering, our persecutors are brought so far as that they now do in part condescend to suffer provision to be handed in to us at the door : it is the last Seventh day that the gaoler caused the door to be opened for provision to be brought in, which was more than ever he had done before ; yet on the last Second day they were so high again, that when Friends would have brought in a spinning-wheel, they would not suffer them ; and they going about to pull it up at the window, the turnkey cut the cords. But enough as to these things, for the Lord is with us ; through whose word, power and Spirit we doubt

not, but we shall in his time become victorious through suffering ; as our Captain and thousands of his followers have been.

I was truly glad to hear of your liberty, and of Friends' welfare, and of the peaceableness and preciousness of your meetings in those parts ; and especially of the well-being of that honourable family, and also of dear G.F.'s liberty yet in it, which I know is no small mercy to it. I desire to be dearly remembered to him, also to dear M.F. and to all her dear children ; unto whom my affectionate love is, as you right well know, as unto the rest of the family. I was glad to hear that my general epistle was come well to hand, and that it had such influence upon the hearts of our beloved Friends in the meeting to their refreshment. It is much with Friends in these parts, as you relate it is in the north, viz. the meetings are mostly pretty quiet, blessed be the Lord ; but many of them are cited, and some excommunicated, and others have their goods spoiled, for non-repairing to their devised devotion. I am yet very well, blessed be the Lord ; so are we all.

"My dearest love is with you my dear brethren:—
Farewell,

" WILLIAM CATON.

" Yarmouth,
First of Tenth month, 1663."

Addressed to James Moore, woollen-draper, Kendal.

" J. M.

" With the salutation of dear and unfeigned love, do I dearly salute thee, and all our dear Friends and brethren with thee ; and being sensible of your desires to hear of me, to the end you might know how it was with us at the sessions, these are therefore to inform thee, together with the rest of Friends, that we were not once called at the sessions. When I saw they had adjourned their court, I went and spoke with the clerk thereof, to know the reason why we were not called ; he said, because the court was minded to favour us : for if we had been called then, there must have been a bill of indictment preferred against us, and the oath tendered again

to us, and then we should have been more liable to have been premunired, &c.: he said further, if we would but give sureties for our good behaviour, we might go about our business and the like. Afterwards I wrote to the judge and to the bailiffs; and the chief collector of this town took it from me, and gave it to one of the justices, who willingly carried it to the judge, and did plead our cause pretty much; the judge was a moderate wise man, and willing that we should have our liberty; and though he was in much haste to be gone out of the town, yet he prescribed to them a way how they might clear us, viz. by taking any one man from the quay, though but a porter, and he might serve to be bound for a hundred of us; and when he came again he would take it off the file, so that we should not be called, neither needed even to appear any more. Further, he knowing our tenderness of conscience, ordered that the clerk should take nothing of us; neither would he have had us further troubled or longer detained. And this, one of the justices, that carried our paper and is our great friend, sought further to have accomplished, to the end that we might have our liberty; but when the judge was gone, some of our grand adversaries consulted together, and resolved to perpetuate our bonds, except we would yield and give our consent unto the recognizance: though they did not desire that we should come to appear at the sessions, yet they would have us to submit to satisfy their wills more or less; and because we cannot satisfy them, therefore are our bonds continued. Howbeit, the aforesaid friendly justice is very much dissatisfied, and told the rest (in the hearing of one of our Friends,) that he could not be quiet, and would not be quiet till he had us out; and in order thereunto, he labours yet very much to procure our liberty, but what the end thereof will be, time will manifest: in the meantime we hope to rest satisfied in the will of our God.

At Norwich there are several of our Friends in prison, some committed from the assize, and some from the session, being fined for keeping on their hats in their courts of judicature. Since the assize meetings have been broken up at some places in these parts;—for the judge was very high and severe against the fanatics, so called, in his charge and proceedings. But Friends are sweetly kept, blessed be the Lord; and the truth is of good

report and of good esteem among the upright in heart, notwithstanding the tribulation which comes upon them by reason of it. This very day we have had more visitors, than we have had in all the time that we have been prisoners here before ; and much pity seems to be in the hearts of people towards us ; and good service we had with them : but blindness and ignorance hath happened to the most of them. The chief occasion of their coming to the gaol was to see some condemned persons ; and being here they came to see us also, and finding every man close at his work, the sight was so much the more strange to them.

“ I have little else to communicate, besides the redoubling of my salutation of true love unto thee and to all the brethren.

“ I am, dear James, thy real Friend and brother,

“ WILLIAM CATON.

“ Yarmouth,

Eighteenth of Second month, 1664.”

P.S. “ The vessel out of which my fellow-prisoners were taken, when they were put in prison here, was taken by the Turks, and carried into Argeei [Algiers?] ; so that though our persecutors intended it for evil towards them, yet the Lord may have suffered it to have come to pass for their good :—and one of them having heretofore been a slave in Turkey, knows what a miserable servitude it is. But the Lord knows right well, how to order things for the best, to them that fear him.”

At the period of the following Epistle, we find William Caton in Holland ; it is dated Rotterdam, 16th of 10th mo. 1664.

“ Dear and entirely beloved Friends,

“ The love and affection that abounds in my heart towards you in the Lord I cannot easily express, nor the fervency of my desire to the Lord for you ; yet however herein can I satisfy myself, in that we are come to read and feel one another in that which is immortal—which tongue (to the full) cannot express, nor pen (to the utmost) demonstrate ; and even through this, which is

immortal, doth my love extend unto you ; and with the sense of your love, and the mercy of God to you and me, is my heart broken, my spirit melted within me, and mine eyes filled with tears. And what is that which thus breaks and overcomes me ! surely it is nothing but the sense of the same love and life, which we have felt one in another, when we were together, to the comforting and refreshing of our hearts and souls. And though I am far separated from you as to the outward, yet I am not destitute of that which your souls delight in, nor deprived (through my external separation) of your joy and delight, of your solace and consolation, which is mixed with your adversity and suffering. Howbeit my heart is often sad, and my spirit even afflicted within me, because of the many impediments and obstructions which the Lord's truth meets withal in this country ; whereby it is much hindered from spreading and breaking forth : so that I cannot say that it flourisheth and prospereth here, as it hath flourished and prospered among you, when the Lord's truth did so eminently break in upon you, and his heavenly power did so mightily break forth among you, to our refreshment in the Lord. Yet verily I have no cause to complain ; for the wonted goodness and tender mercy of the Most High is perfectly continued unto me, otherwise I should be much more bowed down than I am, and that through the sense I often have of the body's suffering (and of yours as members of it) ; and also of the subtle working of Satan, together with other things of the like nature ; but the sense of the aforesaid goodness and mercy does support me in all my travels and sufferings in the Gospel. And I doubt not, my dearly beloved, but that you have the sense of the same to support and uphold you, in all your manifold afflictions and tribulations. Well, therefore, be patient and content in the will of the Lord, without willing anything, but that his will may be done in all things ; lest while you should will to have things thus and so, and after this manner or the other, you should be found out of the will of the Lord, and among them that are willing, and running, and unbelieving, to whom there is no true peace nor rest. But I hope God, of his infinite mercy, will establish your hearts in faith and peace ; that you may depend wholly upon his power and mercy, which hitherto upon

all occasions we have found sufficient : to this then will I commit you all, my dear friends ; and in the sense and virtue of the same, do I dearly greet and salute you all with love unfeigned in our Lord Jesus Christ.

“ I suppose that some of you have heard of my being lately in Friesland ; where there was but little entrance to be gotten for the truth, and therefore was my refreshment the less, and my sufferings the more. Howbeit some few I found (and but a few) in their metropolitan city, who with a ready mind received my testimony ; and when I had been there some time, I returned again to Amsterdam, where we are much more visited with strangers in our meetings than in any other place in this country. And as concerning the plague there, it is (through mercy) very much abated ; so that there died the last week but about 186, which is about the ordinary number that used to die in a week : howbeit the city is not yet free of the sickness ; for the same day I came from thence, I was to visit a Friend that was exceeding ill of the plague, and two of his children are lately dead of the sickness, with another young man that lodged in his house. So that whom the Lord is pleased yet to visit with it, he visiteth ; and therefore none can assure himself of being freed from it longer than so long as the Lord pleaseth.

“ About the latter end of the last week, at and about Amsterdam, there was even a multitude of trees, small and great, that were so admirably rent and broken and bowed down by extraordinary ice that was frozen upon them, that it was very wonderful to behold ; surely it was a figure to that lofty city, and to the inhabitants of it, who are like unto those whom the prophet compared to the tall cedars of Lebanon. Here hath also been a strange comet seen for some weeks by many in these parts, which signs and tokens, as also the late visitation of the plague, together with the present threatening war, doth cause many to muse, and some to believe. Yet the Lord is determined to bring yet greater judgment upon this land ; and it may be that when the vial of the Lord's indignation shall be poured forth, then the day of the Lord's gathering shall be. This day I have seen their weekly news, in which they have made mention of our seven Hertford Friends,* that were ordered to be sent

* See Sewell's History, under date of 1664.

away, showing how that neither wind nor weather would serve the ship that she could sail with. And when the master could have no success with them, he put them ashore, that he might accomplish his voyage the better, &c. This even makes our enemies imagine, that the hand of the Lord is against our persecutors, in their proceedings against Friends. I have lately visited the most of Friends in this country, and they are pretty well, blessed be the Lord ; and their dear love is to you all, and for anything I know, their small meetings are for the most part pretty peaceable. Often am I, with other Friends, truly sensible of your manifold sufferings, and a perfect sympathizing we find in our very hearts with you ; and we doubt not but you are sensible thereof. And truly we are right willing, not only to share with you of your consolation, but also to partake with you of your tribulation. So read ye our love, desire, and willingness, and compare the same with yours, and you shall find that we are the like-minded with you, yea of one heart and soul, and members of one body with you. And in this union and oneness we suffer and rejoice with you ;—and in the one eternal Spirit (by which we are united) do I remain, as in months past, your dear brother and companion,

“WILLIAM CATON.”

The following are extracts from the latest original letter of W. Caton's, which the Editor has been able to discover. It is dated “Amsterdam, 19th and 20th of the Eighth month, 1665,” and is addressed to James Moore, Woollen Draper, Kendal.

“I give you to understand, that through the infinite mercy of the Lord we are very well, and our meetings continue unmolested ; except sometimes among the many strangers that resort to them, there may be some contentious or light person, who may seem to be a little troublesome : but I must confess we have no just cause to complain, having no greater suffering than our sympathizing with our suffering brethren in England in

their grievous sufferings. O ! that the Lord would be pleased, in this remarkable visitation, which is upon that nation, to break the hearts of them that are so inclined to persecution ;—that they might come to desist, from all such destructive enterprises, which are so exceeding prejudicial, both to kings, kingdoms, and subjects, as might largely be shown. Methinks it is very commendable for to see, as I have often seen in this city, how that Calvinists, Lutherans, Papists, Baptists of divers sorts, Jews, Friends, Armenians, &c. go in peace, and return in peace, and enjoy their meetings in peace, and all are kept in peace in the city, and that without any trouble to the rulers of the city ; who I think have it manifold better, and are much more at peace and quietness than the magistrates in England, who first are troubled with making of laws to take away liberty of conscience, and then more than a little with executing those laws, &c.

“ I was glad to hear of the welfare of my friends and relations ; to whom I desire to be remembered, and in particular to my sister Dorothy and her husband : and let them know, how that I and my dear wife are very well, blessed be the Lord. I desire that my dear love be dearly remembered to all our Friends and brethren ; also to Friends at Cartmel, Underbarrow, and about Hawkshead, and at and about Swarthmore ; in particular to dear Margaret Fell and her children : and of my love to Yealand Friends in the truth I could say much. I herewith commit you all to the protection of the Almighty—and in love unfeigned remain thy and your dear friend,

“ WILLIAM CATON.”

* * There is reason to believe that within two, or, at most, three months from the date of this last Epistle, William Caton was removed by death, in Holland. “ He died in the Lord, and is blessed ; and rests from his labours, and his works follow him.” *

* George Fox's Testimony concerning him.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

LIFE AND GOSPEL LABOURS

OF

JOHN BURNYEAT.

First Printed in the Year 1861,

UNDER THE TITLE OF

“THE TRUTH EXALTED

IN THE WRITINGS OF

THAT EMINENT AND FAITHFUL SERVANT OF CHRIST,

JOHN BURNYEAT.”

“The memory of the just is blessed.”—PROV. x. 7.

“The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance.”

PSALM cxlii. 7.

L O N D O N.

1839.

A TESTIMONY
CONCERNING
THE LIFE AND DEATH
OF OUR
DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER IN THE LORD,
JOHN BURNYEAT,
BY
GEORGE FOX.

HE was a faithful Friend and brother, and an able minister of Christ Jesus, who freely preached the everlasting Gospel, and laboured to keep it without charge; who was a true apostle of Jesus Christ, and preached him freely, both by sea and land. He received the truth in 1653, in Cumberland, and died in the Lord in Ireland in the year 1690, after he had stood those great troubles, storms and trials there. He was a great strength to Friends in the time of their late great sufferings; he stood it out, when many were ruined, and fled to England for succour, and he remained, till after King William came in, and King James went out of Ireland.

And then he went up and down visiting Friends' Meetings, that were gathered in the name of Jesus: and afterwards he had intended to come for England; but there he died in the Lord, and is blessed, and rests from his labours, and his works follow him. He travelled and preached the Gospel in Ireland, Scotland, Barbadoes, Virginia, Maryland,

New Jersey, Long Island, Rhode-Island, and up and down in New England, and had many disputes with many priests and professors, that opposed the truth : but the Lord gave him dominion over all, and to stop the mouths of the gainsayers ; and he turned many to the Lord, and was a peace-maker ; and he preached in his life and conversation, as well as his words. He travelled with me from Maryland through the wilderness, and through many rivers, and desperate bogs, where they said never Englishman nor horse had travelled before ; where we lay out at nights, and sometimes in Indian houses, and many times were very hard put to it for provisions : but the Lord by his eternal arm and power did support us, and carry us through all dangers ; blessed be his name for ever.

He was an elder, and a pillar in the house of God : and the name of the righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance ; but the name of the wicked will rot. He was a man endued much with the wisdom of God, and in it had a care of the welfare of the church of Christ, to keep in peace, out of strife and contention : and laboured with the apostates and backsliders to turn them to Christ and his peaceable truth ; so that they might study to be quiet, and keep in the unity of the Spirit, which is the bond of the peace of the King of kings, and Lord of lords. And much more I might write concerning our dear brother in the Lord,—I knowing him very well, and his travels and service in the Lord's power and truth ; and so doth the Church of Christ, among whom he will be missed.

But he is gone to his rest ; and the Lord by his eternal arm and power is able to raise up others in his place.

The 13th of the 9th Month, 1690. G. F.

AN ACCOUNT
BY
WAY OF TESTIMONY
CONCERNING OUR
DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER
JOHN BURNYEAT.

WE will leave to others the account of his birth and convincement, who were his neighbours and kindred; and shall speak of him only, as some of us knew him from an intimate fellowship in divers services for above twenty years. He was a choice and seasoned vessel of Christ, the special workmanship of his power and wisdom, by which he was effectually qualified for the ministry of his everlasting Gospel, thoroughly furnished, may we say, to every good word and work, [which] God called him unto:—deep and large in his gift, reaching what was seasonable to every state;—in judgment sound, free in utterance, zealous for holiness; severe against unsound and dividing spirits:—most tender to penitents and returning prodigals, affectionate to the brethren, and careful over the flock of God, that they might answer their heavenly call, and grow in the truth:—of a grave and steady temper, yet sweet; hardy in his constitution, and undaunted

and unwearied in mind. He was the father of many children in Christ, who through his ministry were begotten again to a living hope; and the builder up of more, through the same, in the precious faith of God's elect. For this he often travelled through this nation, and sometimes Scotland, and the plantations in America, but Ireland in a more peculiar manner, both at his first entrance upon his ministry, and of latter years, where he married and chiefly resided, and where he laid down his head in peace with God, and love to his people, and good-will to all men; being about the fifty-ninth year of his age; and is entered into eternal habitations, to praise the God of his mercies in the living family of the spirits of the just for ever.

He was indeed a man of an excellent spirit and divine understanding from God; and deep in the knowledge of the heavenly mysteries of the kingdom of God, and also of the depths, wiles and subtle workings of Satan, wherein he lies in wait to beguile the children of men: and the Lord many times opened him in his heavenly wisdom to declare of them, that those who had regard to God, and the peace of their own souls, might be preserved out of Satan's snares. He was an able and powerful minister of the Gospel of salvation, a strengthener of the weak, and an encourager of the upright and sincere-hearted, to continue to the end: but he was indeed dreadful to the hypocrites and rebellious, and all the opposers and gainsayers of the truth: a skilful marksman, yea one of the Lord's worthies of Israel, a valiant man in the camp of the Lord, and an undaunted warrior in his holy host; and his bow abode in strength, and wisdom was given him to direct his arrows to the very mark; so that the

sturdy were wounded, the meek were comforted, the tender in spirit refreshed. And he was by the Lord made instrumental to wound that self-separating and dividing spirit, that had, for want of watchfulness in the divine light and faithfulness to God's Spirit and truth in the inward parts, prevailed over some; who, notwithstanding in a disguise and under specious pretences, endeavoured to sow the seeds of dissension, discord, separation and division among the gathered of God. And the Lord blessed his labours greatly, and so preserved him in a holy conversation, and in a meek, tender, bearing, healing spirit; so that he promoted both by doctrine and practice that holy truth he professed and was a preacher of, and made full proofs of his ministry in many lands and countries: and at the great city of London, where he was made instrumental to the good and comfort, refreshment and edification of many; and was valiant there (as in other places) in the time of trials, sufferings, storms and persecution.

He was also a great encourager of the good in young and old, and as a tender father and loving brother, to those who were young in their testimonies for the Truth, and would rather help a young branch to strengthen it in its growth, than to bruise or hurt it in any measure.

This short testimony we dedicate to his memorial, which shall be had in everlasting remembrance; for his name is written in the Lamb's book of life, where none can blot it out;—our brother, our friend, and our beloved companion in the heavenly fellowship, with whom some of us have sometimes travelled in England and Ireland upon divers services for the Truth's sake; and blessed was our

labour of love together. He was an apostle among the churches of Christ; and he is a fixed and bright star in the firmament of God's heavenly power and kingdom for ever. O Friends! you that knew him, know the loss of him in the church of Christ, with other faithful brethren since departed, and worthy of double honour; concerning which sad providence we have this to say to you,—it points plainly to us the evil that is to come upon the wicked and unfaithful, and the great calamities that are at the door. The Lord fit us all for them, that we may find an interest and sanctuary in the Truth above the reach of this evil world; which they will want, that do not prefer it [the Truth] above the chiefest joy.

London, the 10th of the Eleventh month, 1690-1.

STEPHEN CRISP.	WILLIAM PENN.
CHARLES MARSHALL.	BENJAMIN ANTROBUS.
WILLIAM BINGLEY.	JOHN VAUGHTON.
JOHN FIELD.	BENJAMIN BANGS.
FRANCIS STAMPER.	SAMUEL WALDENFIELD.
JASPER BATT.	JOHN BUTCHER.

[*Presumed to be issued from the Morning Meeting of ministers and elders.*—EDITOR.]

JOURNAL
OF
THE TRAVELS, &c.
OF
JOHN BURNYEAT.

CHAPTER I.

*Account of John Burnyeat's convincement, 1653 ;
—The various deep exercises of mind, which he
and his early companions in religious profession
passed through ;—The gospel worship into which
they were gathered, &c.*

IN the year 1653, it pleased the Lord in his love and mercy to send his faithful servant George Fox, with others of his faithful servants and messengers of the Gospel of peace and glad-tidings, whom he furnished with the eternal power of his word ; in the wisdom and power of which he proclaimed the day of the Lord unto us, in this county of Cumberland, and the northern parts of England, and discovered the right path of life unto thousands that were in error ; who sought the Lord, but knew not where to find him, nor how to become acquainted with him, although he was not far from us. But this blessed man G. F., one of a thousand may many say, and chosen before many thousands, was sent amongst us, in the power of the Most High, filled with the strength of his word ; in the wisdom whereof he directed thousands unto the light and appearance of Christ Jesus their Saviour in their

own hearts, that they might come to know him, and the glory of the Father through him, in his appearance, and so come to believe in him with the heart, and with the mouth to confess him unto salvation. And blessed be the Lord, and the day of mercy in which he visited ; for he was pleased to make this labour of love effectual unto thousands, amongst whom he sent his servants to labour, and amongst whom it pleased the Lord to grant me the favour to keep a share of the benefit of this blessed visitation ; whereby I came to be informed concerning the right way of the Lord, and directed unto the true light, which the apostle was sent to turn people unto in his day, and so from the darkness and from the power of Satan unto God and his blessed power, which in my waiting in the light I received : through which deep judgment did spring in my soul, and great affliction did grow in my heart ; by which I was brought into great tribulation and sorrow, such as I had never known before in all my profession of religion, so that I might say in spirit, it was the day of Jacob's trouble ; for the God of Heaven, by the light of his blessed Son which he had lighted me withal, which shined in my heart, let me see the body of death and power of sin which reigned in me, and brought me to feel the guilt of it upon my conscience ; so that I could say he made me, even as it were, to possess the sins of my youth. And notwithstanding all my high profession of an imputative righteousness, and that, (though I lived in the act of sin,) the guilt of it should not be charged upon me, but imputed to Christ, and his righteousness imputed to me ; yet I found it otherwise when I was turned unto the light which did manifest all reprov'd things. Then I came to see that the guilt remained, while the body

of death remained, and while through the power thereof [we are] led into the act of sin. Then I saw there was need of a Saviour to save from sin, as well as of the blood of a sacrificed Christ to blot out sin, and of faith in his name for the remission of sins past. Then began the warfare of true striving to enter the kingdom; then Paul's state was seen,—to will was present, but to do, power was many times wanting; then was that cry known,—“O! wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death,” and free me from the prevailing power of the law which remained in the members, warring against the law of my mind, and which brought into captivity to the law of sin. Then, when this war was truly begun, all my high conceit in my invented notional faith, and my pretence and hopes of justification thereby, was overthrown; so that all that I had builded for several years in my profession, after the days of my youth, (in which tender stirrings were in me after acquaintance with the Lord, and the knowledge of him, and peace with him,) was seen to be but a Babel tower, upon which God brought confusion; and so could it never be perfected to reach to heaven, being out of the faith of his covenant, and which never could bring truly to trust in his word, and rely thereupon; but which led out into inventions, willing and self-acting, though another thing was talked of. Then seeing all my works confounded by the visitations of God, and by the springing of the day from on high, which discovered things as they were, seeing them all end at Babel, and the God of heaven bringing confusion upon them, I was amazed, and fear beset me on every side; and I began sometimes to fear I was undone for ever: for that had entered my heart.

which had turned the fruitful field into a wilderness, and made that, which I thought had been as the garden of Eden, a forest; and so the day of God discovered all to be desolation, dryness, and a heath, and so brought my soul to a deep lamentation, to the beginning of such sorrows as had never been known by me before. Then did I lament and bewail myself many a time, and wish myself in a wilderness, where I might neither meet with temptation nor provocation from without to withstand in my spirit,—such was my weakness; for all the notion I had to talk of, respecting imputation of the righteousness of Christ, being but my own, which by his Spirit I had no seal for, and so was but a presumption, I saw clearly it was my own invention; and so was but like Adam's fig-leaf apron, in which he could not abide God's coming. O! the woe that overtook me! O! the distress that seized me! O! the horror and terror that sprung in my bosom! O! the poverty and want that my soul saw itself in, through the springings up of the discovering light, towards which the eye of my soul was turned! And as this light did spring up, which the apostle of old had wrote of, it manifested all things,—not only the want that I was in, but also the reprov'd things; and then sin became exceeding sinful, and the load and burthen of it became exceeding grievous, and all the pleasure of it was taken away from me and many more in that day. And then we began to mourn after a Saviour, and to look for a deliverer, and to cry for a helper and a healer: for the day of the Lord that made desolate, had overtaken us, and the fire and sword that Christ brings upon the earth, by which he takes away peace, had reached unto us; and yet we knew not from whence it came, though

the burning and the judgment thereby was begun, by which the filth was to be taken away.

And now in this distress, deep were our groanings and our cries unto the Lord, which reached unto him; and he was pleased to hear, and show mercy: for we often assembled together, as the Lord's messengers (whom he sent amongst us) had exhorted us; and we minded the light of Christ in our hearts, and what that discovered; and in our spirits, we, through its assistance, warred and watched against the evil seen therein; and according to the understanding received, we waited therein upon the Lord, to see what he would further manifest, with a holy resolution to obey his will, so far as we were able, whatsoever it cost us; for this I know was the condition of many in that day. We valued not the world, or any glory or pleasure therein, in comparison of our soul's redemption out of that state, and freedom from that horror and terror under the indignation of the Lord we were in, because of the guilt of sin that was upon us; and so being given up to bear the indignation of the Lord, because we had sinned, we endeavoured to wait till the indignation would be over, and the Lord in mercy would blot out the guilt which remained (that occasioned wrath,) and would sprinkle our hearts from an evil conscience, and wash us with pure water; that we might draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith, as the Christians of old did, Heb. x. 22.

But, alas! we had not boldness,—for the living faith was wanting; and a true heart we had not to draw near with, and therefore could not have full assurance; but we were compassed with fears, horrors, and amazement: and yet we came to know that there was no other way, but to dwell in these

judgments, and wait in the way thereof; understanding that we must be redeemed with judgment, as was said of Zion, Isaiah i. 27: and so waiting therein, we began to learn righteousness, and strongly to desire to walk therein, and could no longer be satisfied with a talk thereof; and thus waiting for and seeking after the Lord (though greatly ignorant of him) in a deep sense of our own unworthiness and unpreparedness to meet him, because of the pollution of our hearts, (which was seen by his light that did shine therein,) we were still bowed down in spirit, and afflicted and tossed in soul, and not comforted; and our hearts were unstable, like waters,—the waves going over our heads, and our souls in jeopardy every moment, and our faith so little, that we were ready to sink, like Peter, often crying out in the danger. In that distress and vail of tears wherein we walked, our hearts became quite dead to the world, and all its pleasure and glory, and also to all our former dead profession; for we saw there was no life in it, nor help nor salvation from it, though some of us had tried it thoroughly: we saw it was in vain to look to such hills or mountains for salvation. And when we began to forsake all on both hands, seeing the emptiness of all, both the glory, vanity, and pleasure of the world, and the dead image of profession, which we had set up in our imaginations and inventions, and had worshipped with our unprepared hearts and unsanctified spirits, being slaves and captives to sin, (as all must needs be that obey it in the lust thereof, according to Romans, chap. vi. and xvi.,) I say, when we thus had a sight and sense of the insufficiency of all we either had or could do to give ease, help, or salvation, then we denied all; and as we had been directed, we turned our minds

unto the light of Christ shining in our hearts, and believed therein, according to Christ's command, John xii. 36: and so we met together to wait upon the Lord therein. Then began the profane to mock, scoff, and abuse us; and our very relations, and old familiars, to be strange to us, and to be offended at us; and they did hate us, and began to speak evil of us, and did think it strange that we would not run with them to the former excess of riot, as it was of old, 1 Pet. iv. 4. And also the professors, even such as we had formerly walked in fellowship with in our lifeless profession, began to reproach and vilify us, and speak evil against us, and charged us with error and schism, and departing from the faith; and also began to reproach the light of Christ, as natural and insufficient, and a false light, and a false guide. Thus Christ, in his spiritual appearance, was reproached, vilified, slighted, and undervalued, and was set at nought by the carnal professors of Christianity, as he was in his appearance in the flesh by the Jews, the carnal professors of the law, who saw not through the vail unto the end. In this our weak state were we beset on every hand, and greatly distressed, tossed, and afflicted, as poor Israel was, when the sea was before them, and the Egyptians behind,—and their hope so little, that they looked for nothing but death, and said to Moses, "Because there were no graves in Egypt, hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness," &c. Exod. xiv. 11. Thus through many tribulations must the kingdom be entered by all that strive rightly to enter, according to Christ's command, Luke xiii. 24.

When we were thus in our deep fears, and our minds not well acquainted with either striving, (out

of self,) in the light and seed of life that doth prevail, or with true waiting or standing still out of our own thoughts, willings, and runnings, which do not obtain, the Lord sent his servants (who had learned of him) to direct us in what to wait, and how to stand still, out of our own thoughts and self-strivings, in the light that doth discover; who often did exhort us to abide and dwell in the judgment that we received therein. And as we had been turned to the light, so was our understandings informed, and we got to some degree of stayedness in our minds, which before had been as the troubled sea,—and a hope began to appear in us; and we met together often, and waited to see the salvation of God, (which we had heard of,) that he would work by his own power. And after we had met together for some time, as we had seasons and opportunities, and also sought the Lord with travailing spirits both night and day, when we were at our callings, and upon our beds, (for we could not cease, our souls were so afflicted,) when in our assemblies we were exercised in the living judgment that sprung in the light in our souls, and were looking for the salvation of God,—the wonderful power from on high was revealed amongst us; and many hearts were reached therewith, and broken, and melted, before the God of the whole earth; and great dread and trembling fell upon many, and the very chains of death were broken thereby, the bonds loosed, and many souls eased and set at liberty; and the prisoners of hope began to come forth, and they that had sat in darkness to show themselves. And the promises of the Lord came to be fulfilled unto many, spoken of by Isaiah the prophet, Isa. xlix. 9, and Isa. xlii. 7, and lxi. 23; and some

taste of the oil of joy came to be witnessed, and a heavenly gladness entered the hearts of many, who in the joy of their souls broke forth in praises unto the Lord; so that the tongue of the dumb, which Christ the healer of our infirmities did unloose, began to speak and utter the wonderful things of God. And great was the dread and glory of that power, which one meeting after another was graciously and richly manifested amongst us, to the breaking, tendering, and melting of our hearts, souls, and spirits before the Lord; then our hearts began to delight in the Lord and in his way that he had cast up; and with great fervency and zeal we began to seek after him, and to meet oftener together than before,—our hearts being so affected with the presence of that blessed power, which daily broke forth amongst us in our meetings, through which we were greatly comforted, strengthened and edified; for it was that same Comforter our blessed Lord promised he would pray the Father for, and which the Father should send, John xiv. xvi. and xxvi. And then this [Comforter] being come and received, did teach us to know the Father and the Son; and as we came into acquaintance with it, and into the unity of it, we came to be taught by it, and so taught of the Lord, according to that new covenant promise, —They shall be all taught of the Lord, Isa. liv. 13.; John vi. 4, 5.

Then were our hearts inclined to hearken unto the Lord, and our ears, which he had opened to hear, were bent to hear what the Spirit's teaching was, and what He said unto the church, who is the chief Shepherd and Bishop of the soul. Thus were we gathered into a right gospel exercise and gospel worship by Him, through whose name we had

received remission of sins past, and whose blood had sprinkled our hearts from an evil conscience, and who gave the pure water that washed and made clean : so that with true hearts many began to draw nigh unto God in the full assurance of faith, as the ancient saints did and were accepted, and had access by that one Spirit, by which we came to be baptized into one body, and so came to drink into one Spirit, and were refreshed, and greatly comforted ; and grew up together in the mystery of the gospel fellowship ; and so we worshipped God, who is a Spirit, in the Spirit received from him, which is the gospel worship, according to Christ's appointment. John iv. 24. And then we came to see over all the worships in the world, which were set up either by imitation, or man's invention ; and we saw it to be in vain to worship God, and teach for doctrines the commandments of men, as our Lord had said, Matth. xv. 9 ; and therefore were we constrained to withdraw from them, and also (many of us) to go and bear witness against them in their invented and traditional worships, where they were ignorant of the life and power of God.

Thus being gathered by the Lord Jesus Christ, that great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, we became his sheep, and did learn to know his voice, and to follow him ; and he gave unto us eternal life, and manifested the riches of his grace in our hearts, by which we were saved through faith, and delivered from that wrath, fear, and terror, which had been so weighty upon our souls, and in measure from the power of that death which had reigned, and made us miserable and wretched ; and we came to partake of that life, wherein the blessedness doth consist. So then the Lord becoming our Shepherd,

he taught us, and led us forth into green pastures, where we did feed and rest together with great delight. O! the joy, the pleasure, and the great delight, with which our hearts were overcome many times, in our reverent and holy assemblies! How were our hearts melted as wax, and our souls poured out as water before the Lord, and our spirits as oil, frankincense, and myrrh, offered up unto the Lord as sweet incense, when not a word outwardly in all our assembly has been uttered! And then did the Lord delight to come down into his garden, and walk in the midst of the beds of spices; and he caused the north wind to awake, and the south wind to blow upon his garden, and the pleasant showers to descend, for the refreshing of his tender plants, that they might grow still more and more. And now unto them that had known the night of sorrow, was the joyful morning come, according to that ancient experience of David, Psal. xxx. 5; and such as had been in the foregoing deep afflictions, tossings, and distresses, came to witness the fulfilling of that great gospel promise; "O! thou afflicted, tossed with tempest, and not comforted; behold I will lay thy stones with fair colours, and lay thy foundations with sapphires: and I will make thy windows of agates, and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones. And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord; and great shall be the peace of thy children. In righteousness shalt thou be established; thou shalt be far from oppression; for thou shalt not fear; and from terror, for it shall not come near thee," Isa. liv. 11, 12, 13, 14.

Thus came we by Him to be gathered into covenant with God, and to witness the fulfilling of the promises of God, in whom all the promises are yea

and amen ; and so came to sit together in heavenly places in him, and to feed upon the heavenly food, the bread of life, that came down from heaven, which Christ the heavenly shepherd did give unto us ; who had gathered us from amongst the shepherds that fed themselves with temporal things from the flock, but knew not how to feed the flock with spiritual food, for they had it not. And now we, coming to be acquainted with the power of the Lord Jesus Christ in our hearts, became great lovers of it, and delighted in the enjoyment thereof ; having already counted all things but as dross and dung in comparison of the excellency that we saw therein ; and therefore were willing to suffer the loss of all, that we might win him, as it was with the apostle of old. And blessed be the Lord, many obtained their desire ; they found their beloved,—met with their Saviour,—witnessed his saving health, by which their souls were healed ; and so became his flock and family, or household of faith.

Then as his children and blessed family, we still did continue to meet together twice in the week, or oftener ; and being gathered together in his name and holy fear, his promise we did witness, according to Matth. xviii. 20, that he was in the midst of us, and did honour our assemblies with his heavenly power and presence ; and that was our great delight, and the sweetness of it did wonderfully engage our souls to love him, and our hearts to wait upon him ; for we found the ancient experience of the church to be true, as testified in the Scripture, “Because of the savour of thy good ointments, thy name is as ointment poured forth ; therefore do the virgins love thee.”

Thus growing into this experience of the good-

ness of the Lord, and of the sweetness, glory, and excellency of his power in our assemblies, we grew in strength and zeal for our meetings more and more, and valued the benefit thereof more than any worldly gain ; yea, it was unto some more than our appointed food : and thus continuing, we grew more and more into an understanding of divine things and heavenly mysteries, through the openings of the power which was daily amongst us, which wrought sweetly in our hearts, which united us more and more unto God, and knit us together in the perfect bond of love, of fellowship and membership ; so that we became a body compact, made up of many members, whereof Christ himself became the head ; who was with us, and did rule over us, and further gave gifts unto us, by which we came still to be enlarged, and were further opened, that we might answer the end for which he had raised us up, and had so far blessed us, and sanctified us through his word which dwelt in our souls. So we keeping still in our zeal, and unto our first love, and keeping up our meetings, and not forsaking the assembling ourselves together, (as the manner of some was of old, whose example the apostle exhorted the saints not to follow,) the Lord's power continued with us, and was renewed daily in our meetings ; by the openings of which, our understandings were still more enlarged in the mysteries of life and the hidden things of God ; so that many through the favour of God, grew in their gifts, and had their mouths opened, and thus became instruments in the Lord's hand to bear witness unto the world, of the day of the Lord which was broken forth again, even of the great and notable day Joel had prophesied of, and

Peter bore witness unto : and also they were sent to bear witness against the world, and its evil deeds, with all the false religions with which mankind had covered themselves with in the darkness and apostacy, which had spread over them, and now was seen and discovered by the light and day of God.

Thus the Truth grew, and the faithful in it, and many were turned unto God ; and his name, and fame, and glory, and power spread abroad, and the enemy's work and kingdom was discovered, and struck at by the Lamb and his followers ; which made him begin to rage, and stir up his instruments to oppose the Lord's work, and with all subtilty to hinder people from following the Lamb, or believing in his light : and so with pen, and tongue, and hands also, the beast and his followers began to war, and [fell] to whipping, and scourging, and prisoning, and spoiling of goods, with reproaching, belying, and slandering the way of truth ; with all that they could do to hinder the exaltation of the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, blaspheming his light and his power,—calling his light natural, insufficient, a false guide, with many reproachful names ; and calling his power diabolical, and the operation and blessed work of it, which was both to the renewing of the spirit of the mind, and also to the reformation of the conversation from debauchery, wickedness, unrighteousness, and witchcraft ; even like them of old, who said Christ cast out devils by Beelzebub the prince thereof. But by this time, they that kept faithful to the Lord ; and his light and Spirit in their hearts, who had come forth through the deep tribulation, as before related, were confirmed, settled, and satisfied, and established in the life that was manifested ; in which

they saw over death, and all men's profession, and where they were, and what they fed upon, who cried out so against the light and power of Christ, which was thus with us, and wrought thus in us in our meetings; and how they were but mocking at the same that those mocked at, spoken of in the second of the Acts, when they thought the Apostles were full of new wine, and so drunk: for the high professors of our days being ignorant of the Holy Ghost, through their resisting of it, blasphemed the life and power, and at the best, did but feed upon the tree of knowledge. For this I still right well remember, that in my waiting upon the Lord, in the deep distress and weighty judgment that was upon my soul, to see if he would appear and break through, and open and give relief from that which kept me down as bars of iron, so that I could not arise nor ascend, nor have access, although out of the deep I cried unto him for deliverance; I say, I can remember, that in the first notable in-breaking of the power of God upon my soul, or pouring forth of the Holy Ghost upon me, the first opening in the same unto me thereby, was, a true discovery of the tree of knowledge in the mystery, upon which I saw I had been feeding with all the carnal professors of religion; and how we had made a profession of that which we had no possession of; but our souls were in the death, feeding upon the talk of that which the saints of old did enjoy; and therein I saw there was no getting to the tree of life, that our souls might be healed by the leaves of it, and so feed upon the fruit thereof, that we might live for ever. But as there was a coming under the wounding, slaying sword that Christ brings, by which the life of the old man comes to be destroyed,

who would still live in sin, and serve it, and yet profess faith in Christ, and to be his servant, (which is impossible, according to Christ's own saying, "No man can serve two masters," &c. Matth. vi. 24,) I saw there was no remedy,—either I must be buried by that fiery baptism of Christ with him into death, or else there could be no rising with him into newness of life; there might be a rising into newness of profession, notion and words; but that would not do, it was newness of life I must come to, the other I had tried over and over: I saw I must die with him, or be planted with him in the likeness of death, that is, die unto sin, if ever I came to be planted with him in the likeness of his resurrection, and so live unto God, (according to Romans the sixth.) Then when things thus opened in me, I clearly saw we had all been deceived, in thinking while we lived in the flesh, and after the flesh, and so in the death, and feeding upon the tree of knowledge, (which was forbidden for food,) we might make such a profession as might bring us to reap life everlasting. But I soon saw, such as a man lived after—such as a man sowed, such should he reap, and not what a man professed, or what he talked of; and then I was willing to bow to the cross, and come under the fiery baptism of the Spirit, and let that which was consumable be destroyed, that my soul might be saved, and come to possess that which would endure and abide, and which could not be shaken. Thus were the heavens shaken also, as well as the earth, that that which could not be shaken might remain, (according to Heb. xii. 27;) and so that which condemned the evil fruits of the flesh, (as they were owned by us to be in our profession,) both in our loose conver-

sation, and also in the desires of our hearts, and fleshly lusts which therein sprang, even the same light and true witness did discover and condemn our fleshly profession of religion in that same nature and mind which brought forth evil, or in which evil did dwell and rule; and so came our heaven to be shaken, and our covering and garment to be taken away, and we left comfortless and naked, destitute and without a habitation. And then we saw our sacrificing and our sinning to be alike in the sight of God; for our prayers were rejected, and all loathed, because both were done in one nature and from one and the same seed and corrupt heart; and, therefore, it came to be with us as with Judah of old, as may be read Isa. i. and Isa. lxvi. 3. where the Lord told Judah, their killing an ox, their sacrificing a lamb, their offering an oblation and burning incense, was as the slaying of a man, cutting off a dog's neck, offering swine's blood, and blessing an idol. And thus we saw, for want of righteousness, and keeping the commandments of the Lord, and forsaking of our own ways, and that which was evil, our religion was loathed by the Lord, and we rejected in all our doings, and left in desolation and barrenness; for whatever we might pretend, that true saying must stand, a good tree cannot bring forth bad fruit, nor a bad tree good fruit; the tree is known by its fruit.

Thus things opened wonderfully in us, and we saw not only common sins which all confess so to be, (though they live in them,) but also the hypocrisy and sinfulness of the professors of religion, even in their religion, which was performed out of the true spirit of grace and life, which in the mystery is the salt that every gospel sacrifice

is to be seasoned withal, according to the example in the figure. Therefore were we commanded to withdraw, and be separated in our worship, and to wait to have our hearts sanctified, and the spirit of our minds renewed, that we might come before him with prepared vessels: for we soon learned to see this, that it must be true in the substance, as in the figure; all the vessels of the tabernacle were to be sanctified, consecrated, or made holy. Therefore did we come out from among such in their worship, who lived in uncleanness, and pleaded for sin, which made unholy; and we met together, and waited together in silence: it may be sometimes not a word [was uttered] in our meetings for months; but every one that was faithful, waited upon the living word in our own hearts, to know sanctification thereby, and a thorough cleansing and renewing of our hearts and inward man: and being cleansed and made meet, we came to have a great delight in waiting upon the word in our hearts, for the milk thereof, which Peter speaks of, 1 Pet. ii. 2; in our so waiting, we received the milk, or virtue thereof, and grew thereby, and were fed with the heavenly food that rightly nourished our souls; and so we came to receive more and more of the Spirit of grace and life from Christ our Saviour, who is full of it, in whom the fulness dwells; and in the power thereof we worshipped the Father, who is a Spirit, and we waited upon the teachings of his grace in our hearts; and he taught us thereby to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live righteously, godly, and soberly in this present evil world. Thus we came to know the true teacher, which the saints of old did witness, as saith the Apostle, Titus ii. 12, and therefore wanted not a teacher, nor

true divine instructions, though we had left the hireling-priests, and also other high-flown notionists, and sat down together in silence; for this was our desire, to have all flesh silenced before the Lord and his power, both in our own hearts, and from without. And as we thus came into true silence and inward stillness, we began to hear the voice of him, who said, he was the resurrection and the life; and he said unto us, Live, and gave unto our souls life; and this holy gift which he hath given, has been in us as a well of water springing up into eternal life, according to his promise; and, therefore, hath it been our delight all along to wait upon it, and draw nigh with our spirits unto it, both in our meetings, and also at other times; that we might both be taught and saved by it, for by it the saints were saved through faith, &c. as Paul wrote unto them, Ephes. ii. 8.

CHAPTER II.

His diligence in attending meetings;—the delight and profit experienced in keeping near to the power of Truth.—Is moved to speak in the public places of worship at Aspetry, Lorton, Brigham—is committed to Carlisle gaol.—In 1658 travels into Scotland; and in 1659 into Ireland.

FROM the year 1653, as before hinted, in which year I was convinced of the blessed truth and way of life eternal, unto the year 1657, I was not much concerned abroad in travels upon the account of the Truth, save only to visit Friends that were prisoners for the Truth's testimony; but being mostly at home, following my outward calling, I

was very diligent to keep to our meetings, being given up in my heart thereunto, for I found great delight therein; and many times, when one meeting was over, and I at my outward labour, (in which I was very diligent also,) I did in my spirit long for the next meeting-day, that I might get to the meeting to wait upon the Lord with the rest of his people. And I can also with safety say, that when I was there, I was not slothful, but in true diligence set my heart to wait upon the Lord, for a visitation from him by the revelation of his power in my soul; and as I waited in diligence, patience, and faith, I can say this for the Lord, and on his behalf, (with many more witnesses,) we did not wait in vain: he suffered not our expectation to fail;—everlasting glory, and honour, and praise be to his worthy and honourable name for ever! The very remembrance of his goodness and glorious power revealed and renewed in those days, overcomes my soul. Thus in diligence waiting, and the Lord in mercy visiting by his power in our hearts, my soul was daily more and more affected with the glory, and excellency, and sweetness of it, and with the holy dread with which it filled my heart,—for that became pleasant; and then my spirit was bent to keep near unto this power, and to dwell in that holy fear which the Father thereby placed in my heart. And then I came to see what David exhorted unto, in the second Psalm, when he bid the kings and judges of the earth be wise and learned; and further said, “serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling.” O! the bowings of my soul! O! the pleasant dread that dwelt upon my spirit, and the reverent tremblings that came over my heart, which filled it with living joy, as with marrow and fatness! And then could I say in my

heart with David, I will wash my hands in innocence, and compass thine altar, O Lord. O! the pleasant drawing near (and that not unprepared) unto the altar of the Lord by many, whose hearts were filled, and their souls and spirits anointed with the true anointing from the Holy One, (which John speaks of in his first epistle,) which is the substance of what was figured out in that ointment which Moses was commanded to make, *Exod. xxx. 25*, with which all the vessels of the tabernacle were to be anointed.

Now when my heart was thus fitted, filled, and furnished, as it was many a time in our holy assemblies, with many others, I know, who sat under the same dread and power with me, (for our temple and tabernacle, in which we worshipped, as children of the new Jerusalem, was but one, even the Lord God and the Lamb, as John says, *Rev. xxi. 22*;) I say, when my heart was thus fitted and filled, then did I endeavour to keep down my spirit to the meltings of it; and great was the care of my soul, that I might in no ways miss nor abuse this power, nor let up a wrong thing into my mind, to be betrayed thereby: and then I knew, if I kept down all that was wrong, sound wisdom and a true understanding would be grown into, even of those mysteries that the world was ignorant of; for the Son of God being come, it was he that did give the understanding, to know him that was true, as John said of old, in his first Epistle, and he was made unto us wisdom, as Paul said, *1 Cor. i. 30*. So I often observed, and that with great care and diligence, how it was with my own spirit in those blessed and pleasant seasons, wherein the Lord did so wonderfully appear amongst us, and filled our hearts with the glorious majesty of his power, whether [my

spirit] was subject, as it ought to be, or no : for I clearly saw the enemy might beguile, and lead up into the heights, and into pride and vain-glorying in that, which the soul might soon be deprived of, if it kept not humble ; for it is the humble the Lord teacheth, and the meek he guides in judgment.

Thus, in the greatest enjoyments, I saw there was need of care and fear to be kept up ; for as those that grew sluggish, idle, and careless in waiting for the power in a meeting, did sit without the sense of it in a dead, dry, barren state ; even so such as were not diligent to keep low, humble, and tender, and so to mind the nature of the working of the power, and the state of their own spirits under the power's exercise, and also to watch against the enemy's subtilty, (who lays in wait to betray,) these might easily be led aside out of the way of the power by the stranger, even while the power was working, and joy was in the heart. Thus for want of true fear and care, might the soul come into a loss ere it be aware ; and I believe some have so done, and can scarcely find the reason of it. Great is the mystery of godliness, it may truly be said, even the great mystery which Paul writes of in the first of Colossians, " Christ in you the hope of glory ;" and as he is there, great is the mystery of his working by his Spirit, to the opening and clearing of the understandings of all who rightly wait upon him. It is the soul which is in the sanctification and oneness with the life and true unction, that comes to be a priest, and so of the royal priesthood, chosen and elected in God's covenant, and that comes rightly and lawfully to eat of those holy things, and so to partake of the sanctified holy food. This I did observe ; and therefore the stranger is not to come nigh ; and

this was signified in the figure—"The stranger was not to eat of the passover," Exod. xii. 43; and the command of God was to Aaron by Moses, "That no stranger should eat of the holy things," &c., Lev. xxii. 10.

And again Solomon saith, "The heart knoweth his own bitterness, and a stranger doth not intermeddle with his joy," Prov. xiv. 10. Much might be said further, but this is the matter,—it is wisdom for the heart, that hath known its own bitterness in the judgment and distress, and through it hath come to peace and joy, to keep therein and not to let that which would have no share with it, come to intermeddle with the joy; for if it do, it will soon overthrow the joy of the soul, and bring to another state; and then it will have no more pity in the day of distress, than the Jews had of Judas, when they bade him to look to it, what was that to them, after he had betrayed his master.

I continued, as I have said before, for these four years, mostly following my outward calling, and attending and waiting upon the Lord in the workings of his holy power in my heart, both in meetings and at other times, wherever I was, or whatever I had to do; for I found, that as my heart was kept near the power, it kept me tender, soft, and living: and besides I found, as I was diligent in eyeing of it, there was a constant sweet stream, that ran softly in my soul, of divine peace, pleasure, and joy, which far exceeded all other delights and satisfactions; and this became the great engager of my soul to watch with such diligence, for I found the love of God to constrain. And furthermore, I observed, that if I neglected it, or let my mind out after anything else more than I ought,

and so forgot this, I began to be like a stranger; and I saw that I soon might lose my interest in these riches, and treasure, and the true common-wealth of God's spiritual Israel, which Christ had purchased for me, and given me the earnest of to inherit. Thus being mindful of the opening wisdom of God, which was from above, and heavenly, and not from below, earthly, I was preserved, and helped, and succoured in the needful time. And because of the blessings and rich mercies of the Lord which my soul enjoyed, I was willing to serve him in what I might; and willingly received upon me a share of that concern which became proper for me, with others, to take upon us in the church; that I might be helpful in all necessary things.

Thus I went on in the holy fellowship of the gospel of life and salvation, with the rest of my brethren and sisters; and many joyful days we had together in the power of the Holy Ghost, which was richly and graciously continued amongst us, and daily poured out upon us; so that we still grew in favour with God, and in unity one with another, and received daily strength from the Lord, and an increase of his Divine wisdom and Spirit, which did greatly comfort us. And in this our pleasant state I do well remember, my heart was satisfied, and settled into content, where I was willing to abide. But the Lord who had so dealt by me in mercy, as I have said, began to stir in my heart by his Spirit to arise, and go forth in the strength of his word, and declare against the hirelings who fed themselves and not the people, and who kept the people ignorant of those good things of which he had made me and others witnesses. And when the word of the Lord came unto me

with this message, it became a great exercise unto me; and I would willingly have shunned it, and have dwelt in that ease, peace, and pleasure into which the Lord had brought me; but there was none, but in obeying the Lord, and giving up to do his will; this I soon came to know, for I was sure it was the word of the Lord: and then I yielded in spirit, and longed for the day that I might clear myself, and be eased of the charge that was upon me; for weighty was the dread and majesty of the power of the word of life that lived and, as a fire, burned in my heart, so that I could not stay.

When the First day of the week came, in obedience unto the word of the Lord, I went to Aspetry, the place which the Lord set before me, to speak to one Warwick a priest; when I came, he was preaching in their bell-house, who, soon after I came in with a Friend with me, began to put forth some subtle questions to provoke us to speak, that he might have an opportunity to cause us to be haled out, and sent to prison; but I resolved not to mind his temptation, but to wait upon the Lord. But when he could not prevail with his questions to get his end upon us, he spoke to the constable to put us forth: who answering, bid him go on, and said, 'they do not disturb us,' &c. Then the priest went on and finished with his sermon. When he had done, I began to speak to the people: but the priest got away, and the people hurried me out, and kept me and the priest asunder, that I got not to speak to him that forenoon. So I came away with my friend, and thought to have returned home; but immediately after I got out of the town, the wrath and displeasure of the Lord in his word sprung dreadfully in my heart, and a dreadful cry

was in me from the same,—cursed is he that doeth the work of the Lord negligently, &c. Then I saw how I had let in a fear upon me, in which I had shunned the priest and spared him, for fear I should be sent to prison for speaking to him, the law being such at that day, that whosoever did disturb a minister, as they termed it, should be sent to prison. When I found out my weakness in this, that I had spoken to the people, and spared the priest against whom I was sent to cry, then was I sore afraid, and my heart was filled with horror, and a sore cry [prevailed] in me still, cursed is he that doeth the work of the Lord negligently, &c. Then I knew not what to do, for the wrath of God was upon me; and another cry from the same word was sounded in my heart, saying, Babylon hath sinned, all ye that bend the bow, shoot at her; spare no arrows, for she hath sinned, &c. Now when it was thus with me, and I saw that I had not been faithful, but had missed my service, after I had come so far as the common above Plumland, I sat me down, and there I mourned before the Lord, whom I had so grieved; and humbly desired of the Lord, that he would but grant me liberty to go again to clear myself, that I might come into peace with him again; and then let life or liberty outwards go, I did not value. So waiting upon him in this humble bowed frame of spirit, the word of life rose in me again, and opened my heart, and sealed to me that I might go. Then I arose with boldness, and went with speed, till I came at the worship-house: and the priest was preaching again in the afternoon, so I went in and stood before him, till he had done; and then was my

heart filled with peace, and I resolved in the name of the Lord not to spare, but to speak the word of the Lord faithfully, whatever I might suffer for it; for in comparison thereof, I valued neither life nor liberty. So when he had done, I spoke unto him, what the Lord put in my mouth; he immediately got away and gave me no answer, but I followed him so quick, and cried out after him, that he turned again to me in the grave-yard; and then I cleared my conscience to him, and a great dispute we had, for I did not spare him; at last he went away, and would stay no longer. Then I spoke to the people, and did clear my conscience amongst them; after which I came away in peace, and my heart was filled with unspeakable joy, and my soul with gladness. Then I saw, it was good to be faithful unto the Lord, and to trust in him, and to obey his voice; and I came to feel and see more and more the woeful and dreadful state that the priests and hirelings were in; who for their own earthly gain made merchandise of people, although they were defended by the laws of men: yet I found the laws of God they were in the transgression of, and so were in Cain's, Corah's and Balaam's ways, in envy, and even gainsayers of the truth, and lovers of the wages of unrighteousness, such as Peter and Jude wrote of, and Jude cried woe against, 2 Peter ii. 15, Jude 10, 11, 12.

Then sometime after, I was moved by the Spirit of the Lord to go to Lorton, to speak to one Fogoe, a priest, who was preaching to the people in their worship-house; and I stayed till he had done: and there he did affirm in his preaching to the people, that both he and they were without the life of both the law and the gospel. Then I

spoke to him, and questioned him what he had to preach, or to pray, that was without the life of both law and gospel? But after a few words, he fell into a rage and stirred up the people, and they fell upon me, and haled me out of the house, and beat me, and the priest threatened to put me in the stocks. So I came away; and that day two weeks I was moved to go again to speak to the same priest at Loweswater, the parish where I then dwelt: and when I came in, the people beginning to look at me, and take notice, the priest bid them let me alone, if I would be quiet he would discourse with me, when he had done. So I stood still and quiet, waiting upon the Lord: the priest prepared to go to prayer, but when he saw that I did not put off my hat (for I could not so do, because I could not join with him in his dead lifeless prayers,) instead of going to prayer he fell a railing against me, and said I should not stand there in that posture. At last I spoke to him, and did ask him, what he had to pray with, that was without the life of both law and gospel; but he continued calling out to the people, to take me away; so that at last, my father being there, and displeased with me for troubling their minister, came himself and haled me out of the house, and was very angry with me. I stayed in the grave-yard till the priest and people came out, and then I got to him and spoke to him again; but he soon began to be in a rage, and to threaten me with the stocks, and got away. And then I cleared my conscience to the people, of what I had to say, and so came away in great peace with the Lord.

Not long after, in the same year, I was moved of the Lord by his Spirit to go to Brigham, to

He speak to one priest Denton; he was preaching in the steeple-house to the people, and his sermon, which he had beforehand prepared, had many false accusations, lies, and slanders against Friends, and the principles of the truth. I stayed till he had done, and then did speak to him, but got little answer; but immediately some of his hearers fell upon me, and beat me with their bibles, and with a staff or staffs, all along out of the house, and also out of the grave-yard, so that the next day I was sore with the blows; and then the priest commanded the constable to secure me and a Friend that was with me, and next day did cause him to carry us to Lancelot Fletcher of Tallentire, who ordered a warrant to be written for us, and so sent us from constable to constable, to the common gaol in Carlisle, where I was prisoner three-and-twenty weeks.* And when I wrote a paper to the priest, wherein I answered his false accusation, and sent it to him by a Friend, he would not read it, but, as I was told, put it in the fire and burnt it.

Now while I was in prison, something came upon me for Scotland; but I being a prisoner, and not yet deeply acquainted with the way and work of the Lord's power and Spirit in relation to such a service, great was the exercise of my spirit which I went under; and for want of experience and a clear understanding, I was swallowed up and for a time quite lost in the deep: where great was the distress of my soul beyond utterance. But the merciful God by his powerful arm, and healing, saving word of life, did restore and bring up my soul out of the deep, where it was for a time buried;

[* In the year 1657. Besse's Sufferings, vol. i. 128, fol.]

and he renewed life and understanding, and caused the light of his countenance to shine, and the sweetness of his peace to spring up ; so that I may truly say, he caused the bones that he had broken to rejoice. And when he had thus crushed and humbled, and let me see how he could make all things become as nothing again, and so hide all glory from man, then in his goodness he revealed his own glory, and power, and presence, and reviving life, and so opened to my understanding his good pleasure, which with all readiness and willingness of mind I gave up unto, in my heart and spirit. So after being kept about three-and-twenty weeks in prison, I had my liberty ; and I came home, and followed my outward calling that summer, and grew more and more into the understanding of the mind and will of the Lord, in that which I had a sight of while I was in prison. And keeping to meetings, and waiting upon the Lord in a true travail of spirit, after more acquaintance with him, and more enjoyment of his power and word, I grew not only into an understanding, but also into a degree of strength and ability fit to answer that service, which the Lord had called me unto.

And so then, in the faith that stood in God's power, about the beginning of the Eighth month, 1658, I took my journey into Scotland ; and travelled in that nation about three months, and was both in the north and west of it, as far north as Aberdeen, and back again to Edinburgh, and so down west to Linlithgow, Hamilton, Ayr, and as far as Port-Patrick ; and back to Ayr and Douglas : and our service was at their steeple-houses, and markets, and other places, where we met with people ; and sometimes at Friends' meetings, where

there were any. Our work was, to call people to repentance, out of their lifeless hypocritical profession and dead formalities, wherein they were settled in the ignorance of the true and living God; and so to turn them unto the true light of Christ Jesus in their hearts; that therein they might come to know the power of God, and so come to know remission of sins, and receive an inheritance amongst the sanctified. Being thus clear of that nation, we returned into England, and came over the water to Bowstead-hill the first day of the Eleventh month 1658.

After my return home, I followed my calling or trade again from that time until the Third month, 1659; and then I took shipping for Ireland, according to what had been opened unto me in the truth, when I was in Scotland; [which opening] grew mightily in me through the strength of the power and word of life, while I stayed at my calling at home, and kept to meetings. For the Lord often filled and enriched my heart and soul with his glorious power, and so sanctified and prepared me for that which he set before me: for often in spirit was I carried thither, and had it sealed unto me, that it was my place to go into that nation to serve the Lord, and bear witness unto the Truth, and call people to repentance, and hold forth the way of life and salvation unto them. So I waited till the full season came, according to the blessed counsel of God, in which I found his leading power with me, and to go before me; and at the time aforesaid, I took shipping at Whitehaven, and landed at Dunacadee [Donaghadee] in the north of Ireland, and travelled to Lisburn, and so up to Lurgan, and to Kilmore in the county of Armagh, and so up and down in the north for some time amongst

Friends, and I had meetings. And many people came to meetings, and many were convinced and turned to God from the evil and vanity of their ways. From thence I travelled to Dublin, and thence to Mountmellick, and so forward to Kilkenny, and to Caperqueen, and Tullow, and so to Cork and Bandon; and back to Cork, and then to Youghal, Waterford, Ross, and to Wexford: and I had meetings along as I travelled; and according to that ability I received of God, I was faithful and preached the truth and true faith of Jesus. From Wexford I came to Carlow and Mountmellick, and so into the north, where I spent some time.

Having gone through [the country,] and in the fear of God published his name and truth, as I had opportunity, I was willing to return home to England; and for that end as I intended, came down to Carrickfergus; but before I got thither, it came upon me that I should return back again to Lurgan and Kilmore, and from thence to Londonderry. So I sent word to appoint a meeting at Lurgan; and went on to Carrickfergus, and got a meeting, where there were many people at it; I cleared myself unto them in the fear of the Lord, and then returned to Lurgan, as I had appointed. There I met with Robert Lodge, newly come out of England, who had something in his heart also to go to Londonderry; this was about or near the beginning of the Seventh month 1659. So Robert Lodge and I became concerned in one work, service, and travel together, and were truly united in spirit, in the unity of the faith and life of Christ, in which blessed unity and fellowship of the gospel of the Son of God we laboured and travelled in that nation of Ireland for twelve months, after we met together,

not often parting ; though sometimes we were moved to part for the service's sake for a little time, and came together again : and the Lord gave us sweet concord and peace in all our travels ; for I do not remember that we ever were angry or grieved one at the other in all that time. And so we went down to Londonderry together ; and when we came there, were soon discovered what we were, and then the people were unwilling to receive us, or let us have lodging for our money. We were at their great steeple-house on the First day, and had a large time among the people to declare the Truth : but at last the major sent his officers, who would not suffer us to stay any longer, but forced us out of the city, and down to the boat, and commanded the boatman to carry us over, and not to bring us back again. So being clear, we took our journey towards Coleraine, and then to the Grange, and so to Antrim, and to Lurgan, and so among Friends in the north. And after some time we took our journey into the south, and travelled through a great part of the nation, as to Dublin, Mountmellick, and to Athlone, and Galway, Limerick, Cork, and Bandon, and so through the south, and again into the north. Thus we spent our time with diligent labour and hard travel, often in cold, hunger, and hardships in that country, which then was in many parts uninhabited : and we were in prison several times ; once in Armagh, once in Dublin, twice in Cork ; besides other abuses we received from many, because of our testimony which we had to bear for the Lord, in their towns and in their steeple-houses, and against their hireling priests, which sought their rewards, and loved the wages of unrighteousness, like Balaam ; and worse than

he, forced it from the people, like the sons of Eli; whose sin was very great, 1 Sam. ii. 16, 17.

Having travelled and laboured in the gospel together for twelve months, and many being convinced and gathered to the Truth, we were clear of our service there, and in the Seventh month 1660, we took shipping at Carrickfergus, and intended for Whitehaven in England; but by contrary wind we were driven to Kirkowbry in Scotland, and from thence came over-land into Cumberland, and to Cockermouth. I again returned to my outward calling, and followed that, and kept diligently to meetings; for it was still my delight so to do, and there to be diligent in waiting upon the Lord; for I always found that therein I received an increase of strength, life, and wisdom from the Lord. And as I found any motion upon me from the Lord to go to any meeting abroad, either in our country or any other, I went and cleared myself, as the Lord gave ability; and returned again to my calling, and so to our own meeting, where I delighted to wait in silence upon the Lord: for I loved that much, because I found an inward growth thereby, through the teachings and openings of his Spirit in my heart; and when something did open in me to speak in our meeting, I gave up for the most part, though sometimes ready to quench through backwardness, but that was hurtful; but I grew over it by degrees, and increased in faith and holy confidence more and more.

CHAPTER III.

1662.—*Proceeds for London by Yorkshire, but is imprisoned at Ripon fourteen weeks.—In 1664 sails for Barbadoes.—John Perrot's notions.—Visits Virginia, and New England;—in 1667 returns to Barbadoes, and thence to England; travels into various countries.*

FROM the Seventh month 1660, to about the First or Second month 1662, I was very much at home at my calling; and then I was moved of the Lord to go to London to see George Fox, and others of the elders; and to acquaint him with what was upon me from the Lord to go to America, which came weightily upon me when I was in Ireland, so that I had a great travail in spirit and deep exercise in mind before I gave up. But when I had given up in the belief that it was the word of the Lord to me, and submitted unto his will, the weight and exercise was removed; and I was with my former openness again restored into my service, and no more remained but a remembrance of the prophecy or opening which I had received, and faith in the word, which I was satisfied was sure for ever. And therein I rested as to that matter, until the time aforesaid, when it came upon me to go and acquaint G. F. and also Ed. Burrough, who were then at London, and Richard Hubberthorne; for I loved to have the counsel and countenance of my elder brethren, who were in Christ before me. Then I returned through York-

shire home, and had some meetings, as I came along. I stayed at home but a little time, and was moved to go again into Yorkshire, and went to divers meetings to visit Friends. Being, as I thought, clear to return home, I came to Ripon to see some Friends, who were then prisoners for meeting together to worship God; and going into the prison to see them, and in the love of God speaking some words of exhortation unto them, the gaoler took me, and had me to a house in the town, where the mayor and the chancellor and several of the aldermen were together. Then the chancellor chiefly took in hand to examine me, and sought to ensnare me, that he might get occasion to commit me to prison: first, he would have my going to prison to my Friends to be an offence; but I pleaded in so doing I had broken no law. Then he said, I spoke in prison; I answered, there was no law that forbid us to speak to our Friends, when we came to visit them. Then he asked me, when was I at church, and when I took the sacrament according to the laws of England? I answered, I knew no law I had broken, nor evil I had done to any man; if any man had evil against me, let him bear witness of the evil. Then he began to be in a rage, and said he would have an answer ere we had done, &c. But when he could not get an advantage that way, he reached forth a book, and asked me, if I would take the oath of allegiance and supremacy? Then I answered, "Not in contempt to the king, or his authority, but in obedience to Christ's command, I could not swear." Then he commanded the clerk to write a mittimus, and sent me to the prison, to the rest of my Friends, who were four and twenty before, and there I was kept

prisoner fourteen weeks. And because, when we sat down to wait upon the Lord (for we sat down once every day together, and with us, many times Friends that came to see us,) I spake something in exhortation unto Friends, and prayed unto the Lord, as he enlarged my heart, that we might be comforted and edified together, the magistrates were offended, and sent the under-gaoler to take me away, and put me in the dungeon from among my fellow-prisoners ; he came at three several times, and each time haled me from my knees, when I was at prayer, and put me in the dungeon, a little dark room, where I was one time two days and nights, another time three days and nights, and the last time seven days and nights. There was a bowling alley before the prison-door, where several of the magistrates and others did use to come to their game ; and hearing my voice, they were offended, and sent to take me away. So after fourteen weeks I was set at liberty, and in some little time I had freedom to return home ; and then did, as at other times, follow my outward calling, and kept to our meetings at home : but when I was moved to go forth to visit Friends in our own country, or into Yorkshire and Bishoprick, I was sometimes two months away, or thereabouts, and then returned home to my calling or trade : and thus it continued with me till about the fore-part of summer, in the year 1664. Then that which had been opened unto me four years before, began again to arise in my heart in that word which lives for ever, and the living motion of it began to press upon my spirit towards the fulfilling thereof ; and then I saw that the time drew near, and the season was coming upon me, wherein the Lord would have me go and fulfil

his word, which I had yielded unto in spirit so long ago. I therefore began to prepare, and set my heart to leave all things behind, and give up all things else, that I might follow him : and so his power wrought my spirit into a right frame, so that I could easily leave all things ; and he gave me time to settle and order my outward concerns, and leave all things clear. And that summer I took shipping for Ireland, and passed amongst most Friends, and did visit them.

About the Seventh month 1664, I took shipping at Galway in Ireland for Barbadoes ; and was seven weeks and two days in sailing to Barbadoes. I stayed there about three or four months, and visited Friends, and travelled and laboured in the work of the gospel, both for the confirmation of those that were gathered, and for the gathering of others unto the Truth, that they might partake with us of the like precious faith. There I also met with many who had been hurt by John Perrot, and carried away with his imaginations, who was led out of the power and from the true cross, into high notions and vain conceits, and so into a fleshly liberty and ease therein, from the true spiritual travail and right exercise, both in spirit and outwardly, pretending to be against forms ; and under that pretence led out of the faithful and diligent practice which Friends had been gathered into, as to their meeting together and waiting upon the Lord, counting that a form, which he did lead into a slight of, and so caused many, both there and in Virginia, and other places, to neglect, or in a great measure to forsake the assembling of themselves together, contrary to Friends' practice, and the counsel and advice of the faithful labourers, who

first laboured amongst us, as also contrary to the advice of the apostle, Heb. x. 25. He also, in his new notion, led many to keep on their hats in the time of prayer, when any Friend prayed, and condemned our reverend practice of putting off our hats at such times: and so in many things such as were taken with his notions, were led out of true order into looseness and such a liberty, that the cross in most things was laid down by them, and their own wills followed, and truth's testimony let fall. But he ran out of the truth so far at last, that many began to see him and what his spirit led to; and so came to see their own loss, and returned back unto their first love; and the power of the Lord went over that dark spirit, with all the vain imaginations they had been led into thereby; and so Friends were gathered into their former unity. Now because of the prevalency of this spirit, I had the greater travail and exercise among Friends in that island, and in other places of America; both in withstanding such as were high and hard, and also to gather back and preserve such, as had in some measure been betrayed, and yet were more innocent and tender.

So when I had travelled and laboured, as I said before, about three or four months in that island, and was clear, I took shipping for Maryland about the latter end of the First month, and landed there about the latter end of the Second month 1665. I travelled and laboured in the work of the gospel in that province that summer, and large meetings we had; and the Lord's power was with us, and Friends were greatly comforted, and several were convinced. But a sore exercise I had with one Thomas Thurston, and a party he drew after him,

for a while; so that both I and faithful Friends were greatly grieved, not only with his wickedness, but also the opposition which he made against us, and the disturbance he brought upon us in our meetings; and great was the exercise and travail which was upon my spirit day and night, both upon the truth's account, which suffered by him, and also for the people, who were betrayed by him to their hurt, and were under a great mistake. But through much labour and travail in the Lord's wisdom and power, I and other faithful Friends of that province had to search things out, and to clear things to their understandings, both as to what related to the truth, and also matter of fact, which he was guilty of; it pleased the Lord so to assist us, and bless our endeavours, in manifesting the wickedness and wrongness of the heart and spirit of the man, that most of the people came to see through him, and in the love of God to be restored into the unity of the truth again, to our great comfort, truth's honour, and their everlasting happiness. But he himself was lost as to the truth, and became a vagabond and fugitive as to his spiritual condition, and little otherwise as to the outward.

In the winter following I went down to Virginia, and when I came there [I found] Friends there, or the greatest part of them, were led aside by John Perrot, who had led them into his notions, as before described; and they had quite forsaken their meetings, and did not meet together once in a year, and many of them had lost the very form and language of the truth, and were become loose and careless, and much one with the world in many things; so that the cross of Christ, for which

they had suffered, was shunned by them, and so sufferings were escaped, and they got into outward ease. For they had endured very great sufferings for their meetings, and stood faithful therein, till he came among them, and preached up this notion of his; by which he judged Friends' practice and testimony in and for the truth, to be but forms: and so pretending to live above such things, he drew them from their zeal for the truth, and their testimony therein so far, that they avoided every thing that might occasion sufferings. Thus they being seduced or bewitched, as the Galatians were, into a fleshly liberty, the offence of the cross ceased, and the power was lost; and when I came there, it was hard to get a meeting among them. Much discourse I had with some of the chief of them; and through much labour and travail with them, and among them, to maintain the principles of Truth and our testimony and practice therein, I obtained a meeting: and the Lord's power was with us and amongst us, and several were revived and refreshed, and through the Lord's goodness and his renewed visitations, raised up into a service of life, and in time came to see over the wiles of the enemy. So after some time I returned again to Maryland, and did pass amongst Friends, and visited their meetings, and in the First month I came to Virginia; and did visit them; and so returning again to Maryland, I landed at New York in the Fourth month, 1666, and spent some time there amongst Friends, in going through their meetings: and then I took shipping for Rhode Island in New England, and there spent some time in visiting Friends and their meetings; where I had a comfortable service. About the latter end of the Sixth month, I took my

journey towards Sandwich ; and when I was clear there, I took my journey by Plymouth to Tewkesbury, and so to Marshfield and Scituate, and so on to Boston, and I visited Friends and had meetings ; from Boston I went to Salem, and so on to Piscataway. When I was clear there, I returned back through the meetings, and came to Hampton, Salem, Boston, Scituate, Marshfield, and so by Tewkesbury and Plymouth to Sandwich, and from thence through the woods to Ponigantsit, and from thence over unto Rhode Island. After some time spent there, I took shipping for Long Island, to visit Friends in those parts ; and when I was clear I returned again to Rhode Island in the winter, and stayed for some time ; for there was no going off the Island unto the main, the snow was so deep.

About the latter end of the First month, I took shipping for Barbadoes, and landed there in the Second month, 1667, and I spent that summer there, and had blessed and comfortable service among Friends, with large and full meetings ; and the Lord's power and presence were with us, and several were gathered unto the love of the Truth. In the Seventh month I took shipping for Bristol, in England ; and after we had been ten weeks at sea, except one day or two, being beat off the coast with an easterly storm, and kept out at sea in a great tempest, for the most part of two weeks, we got, at last, into Milford Haven, where I landed, about the 27th of the Ninth month, 1667. Thence I went up to Haverfordwest, in Pembroke-shire, in Wales, where I met with a meeting of Friends the same day ; and I stayed four weeks in that country, and had many blessed meetings. Then

being clear, I took my journey towards Swansea, and visited Friends there; and I came up towards Cardiff, and so on into Monmouthshire: and after I had visited Friends there, I passed over the water and came to Bristol, and stayed there some meetings; and thence I passed into Gloucestershire and Berkshire, and so up to London, where I stayed some time.

After I was clear of that city, I was moved to return again into Berkshire, and Gloucestershire, and so to Bristol, and over into South Wales, and into Pembrokeshire, all along visiting Friends; and I had blessed service. Then when I was clear of those parts, I was moved to return again through the meetings in South Wales, and to Gloucester, and through Gloucestershire and Berkshire, into Buckinghamshire, and so up to London, where I spent some time that summer, in the year 1668. After that I went over into Surrey to see George Fox, who was then travelling among Friends in those parts, to assist Friends in the settling of their men's meetings, and also to stir them up to visit such as were fallen away from the truth and had drawn back, and to see if they could be restored and brought again to a sense of the love of God, and so to salvation and life; which work did prove very effectual for the gaining of many. So after I had been a little with him, and at Horsham (with some Friends who went from London with me,) to visit some Friends who were prisoners there for the truth's testimony, I returned back again to London, and so took my journey for the north of England, through Herefordshire and Huntingdonshire, and then straight down into Yorkshire; and I spent some time in visiting the meetings about Knaresborough,

Netherdale, Masham, Thirsk, and thereaways ; and then was moved to go down towards Crake and Malton, and so on to Killam and Burlington, Scarborough and Whitby, and into Cleveland, and so over into Bishoprick. And after some time spent there, I passed over Stainmore, and so into Cumberland, and came home to see my friends and relations ; I stayed there but about a week, or a few days more, and then took my journey for London to the Yearly Meeting, which was appointed to be about the beginning of the Tenth month, and I was there about a week or two. Then I took my journey again into the west, through Berkshire and Gloucestershire, and into South Wales, down as far as Pembrokeshire, visiting the meetings, and serving the Lord and his people with faithfulness in the labours and travels of the gospel of Christ Jesus. And when I was clear of those parts, I returned back again through South Wales to Bristol, and so through the counties, (visiting the churches,) up to London that spring, in the year 1669. I stayed about two months' time in and about the city, and then I was moved again to go into Buckinghamshire, and so through the country, visiting meetings in divers places, till I came to Bristol ; and was at Bristol about the 25th of the Fifth month 1669. From thence I went over into Wales again, and passed through South Wales, as far as Pembrokeshire ; and from thence I took my journey through the mountains towards North Wales, and visited Friends in Radnorshire ; and from thence came to Shrewsbury, and so into Cheshire, and through Lancashire and Westmoreland home into Cumberland, where I stayed a little, and visited Friends. Then I took shipping at

Whitehaven for Ireland, and landed at Belfast in the north, and spent that winter in Ireland in the travels and labour of the gospel; and I had blessed service for the Lord and his people in that nation, and was richly comforted and refreshed amongst them in the gracious presence of the Lord, who was with us, who is the recompencer and rich rewarder of all that are given up in faithfulness to serve him. So that now none do lose their reward under the ministration of the gospel, no more than they did under the law in the figure, when he said, "Who is there among you, that would shut the doors for nought? neither do ye kindle fire on mine altar for nought," Mal. i. 10: to him be glory, and honour, and praise over all for ever; for he is worthy! When I was clear of that nation, I took shipping at Dublin, and landed at Whitehaven in Cumberland; and I staid a little time in Cumberland, and then took my journey for London to the Yearly Meeting, which was in the spring of the year 1670: and I spent a part of that summer in London and thereabouts, in the service of the truth, until I could have a conveniency to go for Barbadoes, that being upon me.*

[* "In this year, 1670, the act against seditious conventions began to be in force, which Sir Samuel Starling, then Lord Mayor of London, immediately exerted his authority to put into execution. Watchmen and soldiers were placed in guard at our several meeting-houses in the city, either to keep Friends out of their meeting-houses, or to prevent preaching, &c. John Burnyeat being at Devonshire-house, on the 15th of the month called May, and having begun to speak, was quickly pulled down, and had before the Mayor, who fined him £20; on the 29th of the same month, John Burnyeat attempting to preach at the same meeting-house, was taken away by soldiers, and sent by the Mayor to Newgate."—*Bease's Sufferings of Friends*, vol. i. p. 409.]

CHAPTER IV.

In 1670, again sails for Barbadoes.—William Simpson—his death.—Visits New England and other parts of the Colonial States:—meets with George Fox.—His travels and services in those countries.

IN the fifth month, all things being ready, I and William Simpson went down to Gravesend with many Friends from London, who accompanied us; and staying there but a few days, we set sail from Gravesend the eighth day of the Fifth month, 1670, and came to the Downs, and staid there some days, and then set sail from the Downs the twentieth day of the same month: and because of contrary winds we put in at Falmouth, and staid two nights there; and then put to sea again, and sailed for Barbadoes, where we arrived the thirtieth day of the seventh month; so that we were twelve weeks from Gravesend ere we got to Barbadoes.

I staid in Barbadoes six months, and had great and weighty service in that island before I could be clear. My dear companion, William Simpson, after he had been there, was taken sick of a violent fever, which was very much among people at that time, and very many died; he was sick but about six days, and then was taken away. At his death, a very little before his departure, he gave a living, heavenly testimony unto the truth, with wholesome advice unto them that were about him, and departed in the peace and joy of the Lord: an account whereof may be further seen in

a book written by one, who was with him from his beginning to be sick, until he departed. I was with him very much, but sometimes was constrained to leave him for the service sake that was upon me. He was a very innocent man, and full of fear and reverence, and ordinarily very open in his testimony, and very sweet and pleasant : we walked in great love and unity together, for he was a humble man, and had very low thoughts of himself, and always under dread. He had gone through great sufferings, and afflictions, and cruel persecutions for his testimony and service sake, unto which he was called ; he likewise had met with hard buffetings from Satan's messengers, and sore temptations, by which he had been wounded and sore hurt, through the wiles of Satan and his cunning sleights ; of which he would be often speaking to me in our brotherly fellowship and communication, wherein we would open our hearts and states one unto another : and in the remembrance of things he was kept very low and tender, and near the Lord : and he took great delight in his power, by which he had been redeemed, and his soul delivered, and which was raised up into a good degree of dominion, in which he reigned at the last, and with great triumph departed this life, and is blessed for ever. My heart is well satisfied that it is even so : and when he was taken away from me, my heart was broken within me, and my spirit was bowed down greatly in the sense of my loss ; and I could not but mourn, though not as such that have no hope, for my hope was firm concerning his well-being and gain that he had obtained ; but great was my loss, for I was left as one alone, as I had been often before, to bear the burthen myself, which was very

weighty upon me at that time, considering the state of the church in that island, and the care of it upon me : but the Lord was with me, and his power did assist me to go through my charge, and clear myself, and free myself from the blood of all men and women. And so, through all, being guided by his Spirit in his wisdom, the Lord's children and people were comforted, and my soul and spirit refreshed and revived ; and in peace, clearness, and gladness I came away, and took shipping for New England, and set sail the first of the second month, 1671. I arrived at New York the 27th day of the same month, and from New York I went unto Long Island, and visited Friends on the island, and other places thereaways, and was with them at their half-year's meeting at Oyster Bay.

Being clear of those parts, I took shipping for Rhode Island ; and was there at their Yearly Meeting, in 1671, which begins the ninth of the Fourth month every year, and continues for much of a week, and is a general meeting once a year for all Friends in New England. After that meeting, when I was clear of those parts, I took my journey towards Sandwich, and visited Friends all along at Tewkesbury, Marshfield, and Scituate, and so on to Boston, where I had a meeting, and then to Salem, Hampton, and Piscataway, all along visiting Friends ; and I had many precious meetings, and the Lord was with us, and his power was over all. From Piscataway I returned back again the same way, and had blessed service ; and I came to Rhode Island again, where I spent some time, and then went up to Providence, and visited Friends there, and so returned again. When I was clear of those parts, I took shipping back again for Long Island, and landed at Oyster Bay, and had some

meetings : I then went down to Flushing, and so to Gravesend, and had some meetings. Thence I went over to East Jersey to visit Friends there, and had some meetings : and I returned back again to Gravesend, and from thence went back again to Oyster Bay, and was there at their half-year's meeting, which began about the Eighth day of the Eighth month, and had a blessed time. But in our meeting for business, we had an exercise with several, who rose up in a wrong spirit against the blessed order of the truth, which by the power of God Friends were gathered into, and sweetly settling in. And chiefly their envy and bitterness was against George Fox, and his papers of wholesome advice, which he in the love of God had sent amongst Friends ; and in that unruly, loose spirit and mind they were gone into, being some of them, filled with prejudice, that they had written a book, which they brought in manuscript to the meeting, and urged to have it read. But I told them, we had the papers there, and they might lay down their objections, they being there, and we would answer them. But that would not serve ; but the book they would read : and we sat in quietness till they had done. When they had done, I reached for it, and by my memory I went over the heads thereof, and cleared G. F. and Friends in our godly care and intents, and opened the service and benefit of such things which they did cavil at ; and I showed Friends the advantage that was therein, both to the truth and them ; and withal I reprehended their slanders and falsehoods, with which they had hurt the minds of several young and newly-convinced Friends ; and so opened unto them, how it was the same spirit which of old led those who opposed the apostles, and endeavoured to bring

a slight, and beget a disesteem in the minds of the believers against them, who watched over them for their good, and so endeavoured to lead them into a fleshly liberty to shun the cross, &c. When I had cleared myself, and informed Friends of the truth of things, which then by them had been objected against, Friends in general were satisfied, and saw the mistakes which they had let into their minds, through the insinuation of those three men, who had been chiefly concerned in the writing of the book, and in the opposition. And so the Lord's power broke in upon the meeting, and Friends' hearts were broken, and great meltings in the power there were amongst us; and so in the same we blessed the Lord, and praised him, and prayed unto him, and they were bowed, and went away. Thus Friends were comforted, and the seed and life reigned over all;—everlasting glory, and honour, and praise be given to him for all his mercies and preservations; for he is worthy for evermore. And so when all our meetings were over, and Friends in the heavenly power and seed comforted, and the bad spirits and their evil work confounded and brought under before the minds of the simple-hearted, who were like to be hurt and betrayed by them, and so a coolness and calmness raised up amongst Friends, I was clear. I then took my journey with some Friends accompanying me, and went to Flushing, and down to Gravesend; and when I had visited Friends there, I went to New York, and had a meeting; and then took shipping for Maryland, setting sail the 23rd of the Eighth month, 1671. We met with a sore tempest from a west-north-west wind, that blew so hard, we could carry no sail for some days; but at last we got to Virginia, and then sailed up the Bay, and got to Pertuxon River in

Maryland the fifth day of the Ninth month; and there I landed with my companion Daniel Gould, who came with me from Rhode Island, and he travelled with me that winter. We visited Friends in Maryland, and I went down to Virginia to visit Friends there, and found a freshness amongst them; and they were many of them restored, and grown up to a degree of their former zeal and tenderness; and a great openness I found in the country, and I had several blessed meetings. I advised them to have a men's-meeting, and so to meet together to settle things in good order amongst them, that they might be instrumental to the gathering of such as were yet scattered, and stirring up of such as were cold and careless; and so to the keeping of things in order, sweet, and well amongst them.

Thus having cleared myself in the love of God, I committed them unto the Lord and to the word of his grace, and so took boat again for Maryland, and got well thither at last; but we met with strong winds, and rough weather, and some danger: and I spent some time more in Maryland, till the spring. In the Second month 1672, I appointed a meeting at West River in Maryland, for all the Friends in the province, that I might see them together before I departed, for I was determined to go as soon as I could after that meeting. When the time appointed came, and Friends from all parts began to arrive, George Fox with several brethren, came from Jamaica, and landed at Pertuxon, and from thence came straight to the meeting. There were Friends present from all parts of the province, and we had a very large meeting, which continued for several days; also a men's and women's meeting for the settling of things, in order that men's and women's meetings might be established in the pro-

vince, according to the blessed order of the Gospel of Christ Jesus, into which Friends by the power thereof were gathered in most places. George Fox did wonderfully open the service thereof unto Friends, and they with gladness of heart received advice in such necessary things, as were then opened unto them; and all were comforted and edified. Then when all was over, and we clear, and all sweet and pleasant among Friends, we departed, and went down to the Clefts, some by water and some by land; and there we had a large meeting of both Friends and other people. And when that was over, we departed, some went down to Virginia, and some staid in Maryland.

George Fox, Robert Withers, George Pattison, and I, with several Friends of the province, took boat and went over to the eastern shore; and there we had a meeting on the First day, and on the Second day we began our journey through the woods to go over-land to New England. We took horse at John Pitt's at the head of Tredaven Creek, and went through the woods above the heads of Miles River and Wye River, and also headed Chester River, and lay two nights in the woods, viz. Second and Third days. And on the Fourth day we came to Sassafra River, and did swim our horses, and went over ourselves in boats or canoes. We then rode on to Bohemia River, and there also did cause our horses to swim, and we went over ourselves in canoes. We then came to a plantation called Augustines, and there we staid a little; and about three in the afternoon, we set forwards, and some of us got to Delaware and so to Newcastle, and there got lodging; for we were sore wet with the rain: but Robert Withers and George Pattison lay in the woods all night, their horses being tired:

next morning they came to us at Newcastle. We staid there that day, and next day we got over the river. When we were over, we could not get an Indian for a guide ; and our Dutchman we had hired, would not go without an Indian, so we were forced to stay there that day. And the next day he rode about to seek an Indian, but could get none to go ; but late in the evening there came some over from the other side to the town, and we hired one : and so began our journey early next morning, to travel through that country, which now is called New Jersey ; and we supposed that we travelled that day near forty miles. In the evening we got to a few Indian wigwams, which are their houses ; we saw no man nor woman, house nor dwelling that day, for there dwelt no English in that country then. We lodged that night in an Indian wigwam, and lay upon the ground, as the Indians themselves did : and next day we travelled through several of their towns, and they were kind to us, and helped us over the creeks with their canoes ; we made our horses swim at the sides of the canoes, and so travelled on. Towards the evening we got to an Indian town ; and when we had put our horses to grass, we went up to the [Indian] king's house, who received us kindly, and showed us very civil respect. But, alas ! he was so poorly provided, having got so little that day, that most of us could neither get to eat nor drink in his wigwam ; but it was, because he had it not. So we lay, as well as he, upon the ground ; only a mat under us, and a piece of wood, or any such thing under our heads. Next morning early we took horse, and travelled through several Indian towns ; and that night we lodged in the woods. And the next day, being the

Fourth day, we got to an English plantation, to a town called Middle Town, in East Jersey, where there was a plantation of English, and several Friends; and we came down with a Friend to his house near the water-side, and he carried us over in his boat, and our horses also to Long Island. We got to Friends at Gravesend that evening; and next day we took our journey to Flushing on Long Island. And the next day, being the Seventh day of the week, we took our journey to Oyster Bay, and came there that evening; and several Friends from Gravesend and Flushing were with us, for the next day their half-year's meeting did begin, which was the cause of our hard travelling. And besides, we understood, that those who had been so troublesome the half-year's meeting before, when I was there, in opposing the order of truth, and reflecting so upon G. F. would then be an exercise to Friends; therefore George Fox did endeavour the more to get to the meeting, which we did very seasonably: and it was of great service to the truth, and great comfort to Friends; for they [of that party] were greatly under, when we were come, and some of the chief of them began to fawn upon G. F. So we had our meetings very comfortably; First and Second days were public for worship; Third day our men's and women's meetings for business, about the affairs of the church, as usually before. Then on the Fourth day we had a meeting with those dissatisfied people; for G. F. would not suffer the service of our men's and women's meetings to be hindered by such a matter: and so on the Fourth day, as many Friends as had a desire to be there, did come; and the Lord's power went over them, and Friends were much satisfied. And he that was the

chief instigator of that mischief, to wit, George Dennis, who came from London and his wife, not being well owned there by Friends, he now began to disown the matter, and would have cast it upon others, and have willingly appeared clear to G. F. : but that I proved under his own hand, that he was a chief actor at the half-year's meeting before, and who read the book in our meeting, whether we would or no. So things being fastened upon him, the Lord's power went over his deceitful spirit; and they were all bowed, and the truth was exalted over all; glory to the Lord for ever, Amen.

After this we staid a little upon the island, and did go back to have some meetings, and returned again to Oyster Bay: and thence set sail for Rhode Island the twenty-ninth of the Third month, [1672,] and arrived the thirtieth of the same, and there staid till the Yearly Meeting, which began the eighth day of the Fourth month, which was the sixth day of the next week following. At that general meeting there were many Friends from most places in New England, where Friends dwelt, and abundance of other people came into our public meetings. We had meetings for eight days together, every day a meeting, some public and others men's and women's meetings, for settling the affairs of the churches in the order of the truth; that all things might be kept sweet, clean, and well. When all was over, and the service of the meetings finished, I took my journey eastward, to go through the meetings in the eastern parts of New England, and with me went John Cartwright and George Pattison, and several other Friends accompanied us: we left G. F. upon the island, and we went to Providence and the Narraganset country. So we took

our journey towards Sandwich, where we had a blessed meeting, and were comforted and richly refreshed in the blessed presence of the Lord's holy and blessed power, which was with us, and which opened and enlarged our hearts. When we had spent some time with Friends there, we left them, and travelled on by Plymouth and Duxbury, and had a meeting at Marshfield, and another at Scituate; and the Lord was blessedly with us.

At Scituate some of the elders of their church came to our meeting, where were abundance of people in an orchard, and stood up and made opposition; so I ceased speaking to the people, and joined with them in dispute. But the people were so displeased at the interruption they made, that they signified their dislike, and would have them staid till I had done; upon which, they said they would forbear and come again. So they went away; after their own meeting was over, they came again, and several Friends staid with me, and a great company of people came with them. Then we went into our meeting-house, which before would not hold the multitude, and there began to dispute; and after some time spent, they always endeavouring to make Friends appear to be in the error, I said to them, before the people, "If I must be disputed with as an heretic, and your church esteemed as a true church, I am willing we should come to the rule Christ hath left, and thereby be tried, and that is, by our fruits: and if you can prove the fruits of your church to be agreeable to the fruits of any ancient true Christian church, I shall yield; otherwise I must hold my testimony against it as a false church," &c. But they were mighty unwilling to join with me in that discourse.

I urged the proof of our practice by Scripture, especially in such a great point as that; and so went on to reckon up the fruits of their church, which were to fine, and take away goods for not coming to their worship, to imprison, to whip with cruelty, to cut off ears, to burn in the hand, to banish upon pain of death, and to hang; for they had hanged four of our Friends. All which cruelties their church had executed upon us, and only upon the account of religion. And if they could prove these to be the fruits of a true Christian church, then I told them I would own them, otherwise they were to be denied. The proof of these things, or to dispute upon them, they would willingly have evaded; but I stood upon its being necessary, that we might be known by our fruits, and our practice proved by Scripture, which they pretended to be their rule: or otherwise all was but vain words, and an idle notion, and had nothing to do with Scripture, &c. Then they were confounded, and knew not what to say; but one of them fled to that decree made by Artaxerxes, Ezra vii. 26. But I showed, how inconsistent it was with the Gospel dispensation, Christ's command, and the Christian's practice: and further said, I would prove the Indians better Christians than they, by practice. I instanced the Indian king, who, when they had banished Nicholas Upshell (an ancient, grave, old man, against whom they had nothing, but that he was called a Quaker) from his wife and family, and out of their colony, he being received by his Friends at Sandwich in Plymouth colony, they stirred up the rulers of the colony to banish him out of their jurisdiction, which they did: and when the Indian king had inquired

why they would send that ancient man sixty miles through the woods in the cold winter to Rhode Island? and understood the matter, he desired him to go with him, and he would keep him, and none should molest him, or to that purpose; and offered him land and kindness. So (said I) here was one that would entertain a stranger, a Christian practice, according to Hebr. xiii. 2, when your church banished neighbours from their own dwellings,—an act of cruelty, &c. Much discourse we had, but at these things they were confounded; some of themselves having been actors in persecution upon our Friends, as Friends told me, after they were gone. So the Lord's power went over them, they could not stand the trial; and we parted in the peace and love of God.

Next day we came to Boston, where we had a meeting, and many people came in, and several of note. After a while, when I was speaking, came the marshal and a constable, and many people followed them. The marshal bid the constable do his office, the constable being a moderate man, said so he did; he was to see the king's peace kept. And so he stood awhile, and heard me; and went away, and told the deputy-governor, he had been at our meeting, but he heard nothing but what was true, and no blasphemy, or to this effect. So the people staid, and I had a blessed season to open things to the people, and clear the truth of those scandals, which the priests and others had cast upon it; and the people went away greatly satisfied, and spoke well of the testimony they had heard. When priest Thatcher heard this, (for several of his children were there,) it appears he was displeased, and the old, angry, persecuting spirit got

up in him, and next First day he stirred up two magistrates in his preaching to the people, and they sent and took Friends at their meeting, and committed several to prison. We had appointed a meeting for John Stubbs and James Lancaster the third day of the next week, who came after us through the country : and when they came, they were put in prison, and banished out of the colony. Thus their old fruits, like old corrupt trees, were brought forth again.

So the next day we took our journey to Salem, and there had a meeting, and a blessed season ; but there we met with some, that were gone into that foolish notion of John Perrot's, keeping on their hats when Friends prayed, &c. So after meeting was over, (where many people were in a barn,) we had a meeting with several of the chief of Friends, and such as were gone after that spirit ; and a great discourse we had with them, in which we laboured to bring them to an understanding of that notion they were gone into, and so laboured to open and settle the minds of Friends in the ancient truth and blessed power, which they had believed in, and received from Heaven ; and then appointed a meeting to be held the next week against our return. So we took our journey towards Piscataway, and had a meeting at Hampton, as we went ; where several people came in, also some of the elders of their church, and they were greatly satisfied ; and they went away and gave a good report of the truth, insomuch that Seaborn Cotton, the priest, was greatly offended. And the first day following, he called the chief of his people together, and would have a church act made, that no members, nor member's children, should go to

a Quaker's meeting ; and it was to be confirmed by their holding up their hands : but those that were at the meeting, would not assent ; but one of them declared what he remembered of the heads of what he heard at the meeting, and maintained it to be truth. So the priest was in a rage, and endeavoured to stir up persecution.

After the meeting was over, we went along to Piscataway, with Friends who came from thence to meet us ; and we staid there till the First day, and had a blessed meeting, and also had a meeting with the chief of Friends, both men and women, about settling of men's and women's meetings : and Friends were very open, and all things were settled in sweet unity, after we had opened things unto them, relating to the blessed order of the gospel. So committing them to the Lord and the word of his grace, we returned back again, and had another meeting at Hampton, where were several young people, who after the meeting gave me a paper, in which they signified their desire to be satisfied in something that was as a scruple upon their minds : to which I answered, and gave them great satisfaction. And when they saw my openness and willingness to answer, they with reverence did ask me about divers things, wherein they desired to be informed, and unto all I answered, and gave them satisfaction, and so we parted.

Then I and Friends with me, took our journey towards Salem, and came there against the time appointed ; and we had the meeting which we had appointed, with most of the chief of Friends ; it was about settling of meetings to look after the affairs of the church. In this meeting it was upon me largely to open the service of our men's and

women's meetings, and the duty and care of the faithful therein; and when I had done, they confessed the service, &c. to be very good and right. So then we desired, that they would come into the practice thereof; but when we partly pressed it, they would answer little, but held back; some of them, (like Diotrephes of old, who loved to have the pre-eminence, and so withstood the apostle,) did keep off in their minds, being of that spirit I wrote of before in Virginia, pretending to be against forms. For a while we sat waiting upon the Lord, and staying to see what they would come to; and George Pattison labouring to bring them to a sense of the service, in order that they might come into the practice, and they not being willing to say anything, my spirit being very low, the word of the Lord came unto me, and the dread of his power fell upon me: so after some time I opened my mouth with a lamentation, and said,—I was sorry, or grieved, that I had that to say, which I must declare unto them, and that was, that while they stood in that spirit they were in, they could not act in unity with the body, and in honour to the head, &c., and therefore after that, our exhortation unto them was to condemn that spirit, by which they had been led aside, and to wait for the universal Spirit of life, or to this effect; and so we left them, and they were greatly concerned. The next day we had a public meeting amongst them, and after meeting we came away towards Boston. Then their consciences being troubled, we had to do with several of the chief of them, who laboured to have that reversed which I had spoken; and said, it was very hard, &c. But I told them, I could not do it, the power had sealed it, and it must stand;

which was, that they must come to repentance, and condemn that spirit which had deceived, or to that effect. So we left it upon them according to the word of the Lord ; some of them have since seen it, and condemned that spirit, and given a testimony in writing against it ;—blessed be the Lord, who shows mercy, and restores out of the snares of Satan.

CHAPTER V.

The author travels with John Stubbs ;—At Rhode Island, attends a long public dispute, and again at Hartford : his other services.—In 1673, lands in Ireland ; visits most of the meetings in that country : returns to England, visits Westmoreland Quarterly Meeting ;—Case of John Wilkinson and John Story, 1675 ;—Travels into other parts ; troubles respecting J. W. and J. S.

BEING clear of all those parts [of the country,] we came away strait to Rhode Island, and there we met with G. F. who was preparing to go westward towards Long Island ; so he went away, and Robert Withers, James Lancaster, and George Pattison with him. From Long Island they went over to East Jersey, and so over land back again to Maryland ; and John Stubbs and I were left at Rhode Island : John Cartwright we left at Piscataway, he went further eastward ; and after sometime he came to John Stubbs and me at Rhode Island. J. S. and I went up to Providence, had a meeting there ; and as we returned, we had a meeting at Warwick, where none had been before : and several were convinced,

and did own the truth. And there we had to do with one Gorton and his company, who were by other people there called Gortonians, but they called themselves Generalists; they were of opinion all should be saved. But they were in reality Ranters: for in our discourse they would maintain, and say, no creaturely actions could be sin, and would have no whoredom, nor drunkenness, nor the like, to be sin, but what was spiritual; the outward action was but creaturely. Thus in their filthy, unclean spirits, they, like the old Ranters, made merry over the reproof of God's Spirit.

From thence we came down again to Rhode Island; and there we spent some time, and had a long dispute with one Roger Williams, who sent us a challenge from Providence, with fourteen propositions, as he called them, but they were charges; and he engaged to maintain them against all comers; the first seven to be disputed on, at Rhode Island, and the latter seven, at Providence. We spent three days in dispute with him at Rhode Island; but he could not make any proof of his charges to the satisfaction of the auditory; for there was a great congregation every day: it would be tedious here to insert the discourse, if I were able; but I cannot remember it. There is a book in manuscript, of what was taken in short-hand of the discourse at that time; besides there is a book in print, entitled "New England Firebrand Quenched," &c., which is an answer to a book of the said R. Williams, which gives a relation of some part of the dispute, to which I refer the reader. William Edmundson came from Virginia, and was also with us at the same dispute; W. E. and J. Stubbs went up to Providence, and spent one day with him, Williams,

there, about the latter seven [charges,] and so cleared themselves to the people, and came away when they had done with him.

After being some time together upon the island, John Stubbs and I went over, (with several Friends that did accompany us,) to Narraganset; and there we had a meeting the four-and-twentieth of the Sixth month, at one Richard Smith's, and next day took our journey towards Hartford. We came first to New London, and from thence to Norwich, and so to Hartford, and stayed there one day: and several of the professors came to us, to dispute with us. The next day we rode near thirty miles to a town called Westfield, which was within the Massachusetts colony: there was a man and his wife that received us; and we appointed a meeting. But when they heard of it some of their officers came to us, and commanded that we should have no meeting; and so affrighted the people, that none durst come to us. We had a little discourse with their officers or elders who came to us; but they would not stay, but cried out against our religion. We asked them if they knew our principles, which they so condemned? Some of them answered, and said, nay, they knew them not, nor did they desire to know them. We asked them, how then they could judge of them; and withal we told the men they were such as the Scripture did speak of, who spoke evil of the things they knew not; and they were confounded, and went away; but they so scared the people, that none durst come near us.

So we came away to Hartford again on the sixth day of the week, and on the seventh day several came to us, and discoursed with us: and we desired that we might speak with the priest, and they had

promised that we should ; but when we desired him to come, he (or they for him,) made an excuse, that he could not that day come from his study. So the next day (being the First day of the week) we went to their meeting, and the forenoon stayed without, till they had done. And when they had done, and came forth, we spoke to the people ; but they got away, as if they had been afraid of us ; and none would stay. So we returned to the inn, and stayed there till the afternoon ; and then we went into their meeting-house, and stayed till the priest had done. Then I stood up, and called unto the people, and desired their patience a little to hear, for I had a word of exhortation to them ; and so began to speak. But immediately the sexton came to me to interrupt me ; and seeing he could not stop me, he drove the people away. And when I saw the people most of them gone, I stepped down, and thought to have gone forth after them ; but he got to the door, and shut the door to keep me in. Then I went round an alley to get to a second door, but he got over the seats and shut that. Then I made for a third door, he also got to that before me, and shut that, and so made their meeting-house a prison, and kept us in, (with a very few people that got not away,) till the people was gone, and then let us forth ; so we came to our inn again.

After some time several of their elders came to us, to dispute with us, on purpose to keep the younger people away, as some of them confessed ; and when we came to discourse with them, they would seem to charge us with breach of the sabbath, in coming to their meeting that day. We took to the Bible and said, "Come, first prove a sabbath-day under the gospel dispensa-

tion, and then prove our practice this day to be a breach of it, if you can; and vindicate Paul, who disputed every sabbath-day in the synagogue, &c. and then prove by Scripture your practice this day, and show where any Christians drove the people away from hearing the truth, (for they had granted, we spoke nothing but truth,) and made their meeting-house a prison? So we shut them behind the unbelieving Jews, who gave liberty to Paul and Silas: and they were confounded, and could not tell how to vindicate their doings, and so went away. Then after they were gone, came into our chamber many younger people, and we opened many things to them relating to the way of truth, and cleared up things from the Scriptures; and they were mightily satisfied. And when the old, dry professors saw that the younger people were affected; they sent in a constable, to command all to depart; but they answered and said, they were housekeepers many of them, and therefore he had nothing to do with them: so they would not go. So we continued still opening the Scriptures unto them; and they were affected. Then the innkeeper, being one of their elders, came and took the candle away, that we might not see to read in the Scriptures; and so left us in the dark: then the people went away, being displeased.

The next morning, J. S. and I took our journey to westward; and our friends that had accompanied us, returned home to Rhode Island. And we went from Hartford to Newhaven, Milford, Stratford, Fairfield, Norwich, Stamford, and so to Greenwich, where we met with Friends; and there we appointed a meeting. The priest of that town in his pulpit had preached against Friends,

and often had boasted, how he would dispute with the Quakers, if any came there; so when the meeting was appointed, the people came with a great expectation of what a priest would do. But in the morning he rode away to Stamford to a magistrate, and sent a constable with a warrant to apprehend us; who came at the beginning of our meeting, and took us, and carried us away to the magistrate at Stamford. The people being displeased, many of them followed after us to Stamford, and our friends also, to see what they would do: and when we came there, many people were gathered about the house, (for it was but two miles between the towns;) but after a little time we were called into an inner room, where the magistrate lay upon his bed, he not being very well. And when we came in, there were none with him but two priests, the priest of Greenwich, and the priest of Stamford, and none were to be suffered to come in but the constable, and one man of Stamford who was a merchant, as they said; he went in and out when he pleased. So the magistrate asked us many questions, and we answered him; and he discoursed with us long in many things, and we answered him; for he was very moderate. Then after a long time one of the priests put in a question: then I said, if we must discourse of divine things, we did desire to be more public; for the people were without, desirous to hear. Then the magistrate said to the priests, "Master Jones and Master Bishop, I desire you to go into the public meeting-house with these men, and there discourse with them before the people; for," said he, "they are sober, rational men." So we accepted kindly of the proffer, and rose up, and went forth; and

the priests came after us displeased. But when we were forth of the door among the people, we called upon the priests to go up with us, as they were desired; and so we went up, and they and the people also. And when we were settled in the meeting-house, with many people, then the priests put it upon us to begin; and so we began with them first about their wages, and then went on to our call, which they put upon us: and then about the light, which they denied: also about election and reprobation, and free grace. They affirmed the grace of God had not appeared to all men, and that Christ did not die for all men. Several hours we spent; but the discourse is drawn up in a book in manuscript, and therefore I shall forbear it here, for it is large. The next day we had a meeting at Greenwich, but the priest came, and we had a great discourse; which is in the said book. And the First day following we had a meeting about six miles from thence; then, being clear of these parts, we took boat, and went over unto Long Island, to Oyster-Bay, and met with John Cartwright; and so visited friends upon the Island. J. C. and I went over to East Jersey, and did visit Friends there, and had several blessed meetings; we returned back again to Long Island, and had several meetings. Then being clear of those parts, John Cartwright and I came to New York, in order to get a passage for Maryland; we set sail from New York the first day of the Ninth month 1672, and from Sandy Hook out to the sea the third day of the same, and met with rough weather; but the sixth day of the same we got in at the Capes of Virginia, and on the ninth of the same month we came to anchor in Pertuxon river in the province of

Maryland, and so got up within a day or two to James Preston's; for the north-west wind blew so hard, that we could not get up the first day. We then went among Friends in that province as the Lord made way. G. F. and Friends that were with him, who came over land together, were gone down to Virginia, and he also travelled over land to North Carolina, and there found some Friends, and returned over land to Virginia, and came up the bay again to Maryland; and while they were below in Virginia and Carolina, we travelled among Friends in Maryland, and had blessed service.

Upon the first day of the Eleventh month we had a meeting at John Baldwin's at South-River; where were many Friends, and other people, who came together upon the occasion of a dispute to which one Henry Pierrepont had challenged us, who was a kind of fifth-monarchy man. The first thing to prove, which he had assumed, was, that the Scriptures were the only rule to try all things by in matters of faith and doctrine; about which we had a great discourse: and we proved, that the patriarchs had faith and a rule for faith, before any Scriptures which we have were written; and we showed, what was their rule. We spent several hours in dispute about the other three things, which he had affirmed; but there is a book in manuscript, which is an answer to them all: I therefore shall omit any further mentioning of it here. Some time was spent in visiting Friends from meeting to meeting, to which many people came at several places; and the Lord's power opened us, and we were comforted, and the consciences of people reached: G. F. and the other Friends then returned, and John Cartwright took shipping for Barbadoes.

George Fox and I were some time together ; and we were up at an Indian town, at the emperor's house, who had ordered the Indians, both men and women, to be at his house, viz. the ancient and grave ; and the young people were at another wigwam. G. F. spoke to them by an interpreter for the space of four or five hours, I suppose it was nigh five hours ; and they were very still and quiet, and very attentive, and delighted (as we did perceive) to hear. When the time was over, and we clear, they showed us kindness, and were going to hang a kettle on the fire to boil fish for us to eat, as they told us ; but we could not stay, having a great way to go by water, and it was late : so we came away to the water-side, and some of them accompanied us till we took boat. We came down the river again to Friends, and spent some time more in travel and labour in that province.

James Lancaster, George Pattison, and I, took a journey to visit some people that were convinced, up Potomac river ; we ferried over Pertuxon river, and then travelled through the woods on foot, till we came to them ; we stayed a few days, and had a meeting or two, and then returned back again to Pertuxon, and on to the cliffs, where we left James, being very weary. Next day George and I travelled to West river, and were there at their meeting : and next week we got a boat, and went over the bay to the eastern shore, and went up Miles River to Friends ; and from thence we went to meet with G. F. to speak with him, having some intentions to take shipping, and to go for England with one John Ore a Friend, a master of a ketch, which belonged to some Friends at London.

When we had been with G. F. a little time, we

returned to Miles River to our boat; and after a time we went over the bay towards West River, and through some exercise with contrary winds, at last we got over; and after a little time spent there with Friends, we departed, and went down by the Clifts, where we met with G. F. come over the bay. We stayed but little there, and went on towards Pertuxon; where we took shipping, and set sail out of Pertuxon River the twenty-fifth day of the Second month, 1673, and came out at the Capes of Virginia to the sea on the twenty-sixth day of the same month. When we had sailed but a few days, in a morning early we espied a fleet of ships behind us, about four-and-twenty; then we stopped a little, supposing them to be an English fleet, which sailed out of the Capes from James River, two or three days before us: and when some of them came up to us, they told us, it was the same fleet. So we stayed, and went in company with them, till we came about the Banks of Newfoundland: and then we met with foul weather, which parted us one from another, so that we no more got altogether again. We were six that got together again in our company, and kept together, until we came into the bay at Galway in Ireland, where we arrived the twenty-fourth day of the Third month 1673.

CHAPTER VI.

Abstract of some of the letters of John Burnyeat, in continuation of his travels, from 1673 to 1690—His marriage in 1683—His imprisonment in Dublin—Death of his wife 1688.

FROM Galway I travelled to Limerick, and so to Charleville, Mallow, and to Cork, and Bandon, and as far almost as Baltimore, visiting Friends, and having meetings: I then returned back to Cork, and took my journey to Youghal, and so on to Tallagh, and to Kilcomin, and to Waterford, and so on into the county of Wexford, having meetings in all these places: and the Lord's good presence was with us, to our comfort;—glory, and honour, and praise to him for ever!

Then I came up through the county of Catherlough, [Carlow] and the Queen's County, and so on into the county of Westmeath, having meetings all along, and visiting Friends; and there George Pattison left me, and took his journey for Dublin, and from thence to London, but I took my journey for Cavan. And when I had seen Friends, and had a meeting or two, I took my journey for the north, the county of Armagh and the county of Antrim, and those parts; and I visited Friends, and had many precious meetings, and the Lord was with us, and his gracious presence was our daily comfort;—to him be the glory for ever!

When I had spent some time in the north of

Ireland in the service of the truth, I took my journey for Dublin. And after some meetings there, I took my journey into the county of Wicklow, and so through the province of Munster a second time, and also took Friends in Leinster, and in the north : so that I travelled through most meetings a second time in that nation. Then being clear of the nation, I took shipping at Belfast the twenty-fifth day of the Tenth month 1673, and the twenty-sixth we set sail out of the Lough, and arrived at Whitehaven in Cumberland in England the twenty-seventh of the same month, and stayed about three months in Cumberland for the most part. Then I took my journey out of Cumberland towards Newcastle, visiting Friends and their meetings, as I went along: and from Newcastle I went on into Bishoprick, and through their meetings, and so into Yorkshire, through Cleveland to Whitby, and Scarborough, Malton, and York, and had many precious meetings. And thence I went up to Masham, and from thence Robert Lodge and I, with James Hall, took our journey towards London to the Yearly-Meeting in the year 1674, and there stayed some time in that city, labouring in the word and testimony which God had committed unto me. Afterwards I took my journey into the country, and went down into Buckinghamshire, through their meetings; and so on into Oxfordshire, Worcestershire, and Gloucestershire, and to Bristol, and then back again, and to Shrewsbury, and on as far as Wrexham in Wales, visiting the churches of Christ: and the good presence of the Lord in his heavenly power accompanying, we were often refreshed and sweetly comforted together, to our joy and his praise, who is our God for evermore.

From Wrexham in North Wales, I took my journey with John ap John, who accompanied me towards South Wales; we visited Friends, and had many meetings as we went along, in Montgomeryshire, Merionethshire, and Cardiganshire; and we passed on by the west sea into Pembrokeshire, there we visited the Lord's people, and spent sometime amongst them. Then we took our journey through Carmarthenshire to Swansea; and having a meeting or two we passed on towards Cardiff, visiting Friends in Glamorganshire, and then into Monmouthshire, and having visited Friends in that county, we parted; he returned home, and I passed over the water into Gloucestershire, and so to Bristol. I continued travelling through several counties, visiting the churches, and so to London, where I spent sometime; and then I went down into Essex, and visited Friends in that county, and returned again to London to the Yearly Meeting in the year 1675.

From London I took my journey to Hartford, and so down northward, with John Graves and James Hall, to York, and there we parted. I went from York to Malton, and so to Scarborough, and Whitby, taking Friends in Cleveland, and so to Stockton in Bishoprick, visiting Friends, and having many precious meetings. I then passed through several meetings in that county; and being clear I took my journey for Cumberland; and being there, I with several brethren was desired to come over into Westmoreland, to a meeting appointed by Friends at their quarterly meeting, which was to be at Powbank. So I went thither against the day appointed, with John Graves, John Tiffin, Hugh Tickell, and Thomas Laithes, where

we met with several brethren, who were come out of Yorkshire, at the request of the aforesaid quarterly meeting. Upon this occasion many Friends of Westmoreland came together; who, when we were sat together in the meeting, did present before us several disorders in many things, which were contrary to the truth, by which they had been grieved and sorely exercised for a long time in their monthly and quarterly meetings; so that the spirits of a loose company were set at liberty, and so much borne up and countenanced by John Story and John Wilkinson, that the blessed order of the truth brought forth amongst us by the power of God, was greatly slighted, and endeavoured to be trodden under by that loose company, which was thus encouraged by these two men, who looked upon themselves to be elders, and like Diotrophes, loved to have the pre-eminence; which brought great grief upon the honest and simple minded. So we hearing what Friends had to say in that matter, and observing what was charged and proved, we desired Friends to give us another meeting, and let J. S. and J. W. be sent to, and desired to meet us, that we might hear them face to face: although they had been desired by the quarterly meeting, and several others, to come to this meeting so appointed, they had refused; and withal they sent us a letter, denying to come, and disowning our meeting.

Nevertheless, we were willing to have another meeting, which Friends of Westmoreland freely assented unto; and so it was appointed at Milthrop the next day. And we (to wit) six or more of Cumberland and Yorkshire Friends, did ourselves go to them as messengers, and did entreat them to come with us to the meeting, that we might hear

them and the Friends of Westmoreland, who were aggrieved, face to face, concerning those things that were in charge against them; but they were so high and so obstinate, that they slighted us all, or any advice we could give. So after some hours' discourse with them, in which we thoroughly saw their spirits to be wrong, we left them, and went to the meeting appointed at Milthrop, where Friends were waiting for us. After we were settled a little in the meeting, we gave an account how we had endeavoured to persuade them to come, through all entreaty we could, but we could not prevail. So we gave a hearing a second time to the Friends; and then we of Yorkshire and Cumberland withdrew, and amongst ourselves viewed the whole matter, for it was in writing, and opened our hearts one unto another. And waiting upon the Lord, there fell a weighty concern upon us for the truth's sake, and the blessed order thereof, with our holy testimony we had been raised up into, which by them had been slighted, and scorned, and reproached: so that we would not pass it by; but in the power of the Lord God, which was dreadful amongst us, we gave judgment against that spirit, which was grown so high, and loose, and fleshly, as thus to undervalue the testimony of God, and the bringings forth of his holy power in the churches of Christ, by which all may be kept sweet, clear, and in good order. And when we had cleared ourselves in the rising and springing up of the word of life, and drawn up our testimony in writing, we gave it unto Friends there, and so departed. Of the judgment given I shall say no more here, because it is in writing in many places.

I then went over to Swarthmore, and stayed a

meeting there ; and then returned into Cumberland, and stayed there some weeks, and visited Friends. Being clear, I returned again to Swarthmore, in order to go over the sands towards Wales, which was before me. When I was at Swarthmore, I was moved to go over first into Westmoreland, to visit the meetings there. So I went over to Sedberg, and had a meeting there ; and I had a meeting at Grayrigg, and then came to Kendal, where I met with Robert Lodge, and we had a blessed meeting there. The next day we were at Preston meeting ; and then I was clear of that county.

After a little time I took my journey into Wales through Lancashire and Cheshire, and so coming to John ap John's, near Wrexham in North Wales, he travelled along with me. In the first place, we went to a Quarterly Meeting that was held at Dolobaron, at Charles Lloyd's, for two counties, viz. Merionethshire and Montgomeryshire ; and we had a blessed service for the truth there among Friends. Afterwards we went down into Merionethshire, and visited the meetings : and then to Mackynleth, and had a meeting. We then returned up into Radnorshire, and visited the meetings in that county. We next took our journey through Brecknockshire, and Carmarthenshire, into Pembrokeshire, where we spent some time amongst Friends, and had several precious meetings. Being clear, we took our journey towards Swansea and Cardiff, and had several precious meetings in Glamorganshire, and then went over into Monmouthshire. And after we had visited Friends, John went with me to the Ferry, and stayed to see me take boat, and then returned.

I went that same day to Bristol, and stayed

some meetings there: and then I went down into Somersetshire, and visited Friends there, and had many blessed meetings. I returned back to Bristol, and stayed some meetings there; and then went into Wiltshire and Gloucestershire, and through Berkshire and into Oxfordshire, and so into Worcestershire, as far as Worcester, and visited Friends, and had many precious meetings through those counties. From Worcester I returned again through Gloucestershire, and had several meetings: and came again to Bristol; from thence I took my journey through several counties, visiting Friends: and so came to London, and stayed there some time in the service and work of the gospel.

Being clear, I took my journey for the north, and did not make much stay at any place, till I came into Cumberland. The reason of my so travelling was, because of a meeting, which was agreed upon by Friends to be held at Draw-well in Sedberg parish, about the former difference, which had been heard at Powbank; chiefly occasioned by the aforesaid John Story and J. Wilkinson, and a loose sort of people, whom they did countenance in a liberty that the truth would not allow, and therefore could not be borne with by such tender Friends, as were zealous for the truth, who kept their first love, and therein delighted to uphold that ancient testimony for the Lord, against the priests and their tithes, hire, and maintenance, with other things that were to be borne witness against through sufferings; and also for meeting together to worship God, which from the beginning had been our practice, there being divers statutes with penalties upon us, for so doing; for fear of which, the aforesaid J. S. and J. W. with such as had let in the same fear

through fleshly reasoning, did shrink and hide ; and so let fall the nobility of that testimony, which we had received and were raised up to stand for in the beginning. And so because of a failure in divers things, and a pleading for a liberty from under the exercise of the cross, that the offence thereof might cease, the faithful became concerned to stand up against that spirit, which thus was like to weaken or overthrow the faith and testimony of many, through its subtle workings in and through divers ; who, like those the apostle writes against in his Epistle to the Galatians, that to avoid persecution endeavoured to bring the believers under circumcision, that so the offence of the cross might cease, or suffering for the Gospel might be avoided.

Now this difference still continuing, and they abiding obstinate, and not willing to receive advice, nor bear the judgment in the truth placed upon them, Friends in condescension, to see if they could be gained, appointed a meeting at Draw-well near Sedberg, that they might have another opportunity, and be heard what they could further say. Then the matters were fully gone through before many ancient, faithful brethren, who were there assembled ; who spent four days in hearing and going through the matters relating to that difference, which was occasioned through the opposition of those to the blessed order of the Truth, who withstood Friends' godly care for the preservation of the dominion thereof in righteousness. And when all things were heard and gone through by the brethren, the judgment was again given in the power of the Lord upon that spirit which they had let in, whereby they had been led into a separation and division,

and opposition to the truth and the holy order and testimony thereof; and they in the same power and love, with great bowels and tenderness, were sought to return back again unto that spirit of love and peace, wherein the unity and fellowship of the true body doth consist. But alas! many of them would not be wrought upon nor prevailed with; but in that hardness the enemy had wrought their hearts into, did persist, until they became open enemies to the Truth and the faithful witnesses of it, even to the writing and printing publicly against them, and what the truth doth lead into: and so are become such as the apostle writes of, that greatly withstood their words, and slighted them: of which both Paul, Peter, John and Jude wrote. This meeting at Draw-well, was in the Second month 1676.

After Friends had done what could be done at that time, with holy endeavours for the reconciling and gathering into the heavenly unity, and making up of the breach, I returned from thence again into Cumberland with several brethren, to wit, J. T., J. B., Hugh Tickhill, Thomas Laythes, John Steele,* and so spent a little time in Cumberland; and then I took my journey with John Tiffin towards London. In our journey we came into Westmoreland to visit Friends there, where we met with some of those, with whom we had to do at Draw-well: and then they were grown hard, through resisting the counsel of the Lord, and had set up a separate meeting, and so ran into the self-separation, and grew more into the enmity, and stronger in the opposition, through resisting the love of God, that so richly was reached forth unto them in the heavenly bowels, which, by

[* See Pike and Oxley, p. 43.]

the power of the Lord Jesus Christ, were opened in the brethren at the aforesaid meeting at Drawwell. For the power of the eternal God in great majesty appeared, and in a weighty dread was judgment set and sealed upon that spirit, by which they had been betrayed; and by the same power and word of life was a door opened unto them who had been betrayed, and an entrance in the same was set before them, and they, with much brokenness and tenderness, in the power of love, were sought to return, and be reconciled unto God, and unto his people. But this great visitation being rejected by them, they grew harder and harder, until they grew, many of them, as before said, enemies unto the cross of Christ; and so they withered as to their spiritual state, and became as some of old, whom the apostle wrote of, as trees twice dead, and plucked up by the roots.

From Westmoreland I went over into Yorkshire, had a meeting at Sedberg, and went through the Dales to Masham, visiting Friends there-a-ways. And then J. T. and I, with Robert Lodge, took our journey to York, and from thence towards London, visiting Friends by the way; and so we came to the Yearly Meeting in the year 1676, where there were many faithful brethren assembled together from most parts of the nation. Amongst many things of concern relating to the truth and the churches of Christ, that division in Westmoreland was laid before the meeting, and how they were hardened, and had set up a separate meeting, and so had withdrawn themselves from the rest of their brethren, and broken the Christian fellowship: which thing, when understood by the brethren there assembled, was a grief unto them. Therefore under the sense thereof,

and in that brotherly love, with which their hearts were filled towards them, were there two epistles written from the meeting, one to J. S. and J. W., warning and advising them, as heads and leaders in that sedition and schism, to endeavour to break up that separate meeting, and to be reconciled unto their brethren, before they went abroad to offer their gift; and the other was writ to the meeting, as advice unto them to return to their former fellowship with Friends, and lay that separate meeting down, and join with their brethren in the unity of the truth, &c.

But all this did not prevail with them; but still they grew higher and harder, and went on in the strong resolutions of their wills. Only there were divers individuals, who were for a time concerned in that opposition and separation, whose understandings the Lord opened, so that they saw the snare of the enemy, and returned; and under a sense of the Lord's judgments, they gave forth divers testimonies in writing against that spirit, by which they had been seduced, with a confession of the error they were led into; and so returned into the true fellowship and unity with the church of Christ, and were received with gladness. Glory to the Lord, who is the Saviour and healer of his people, who now heals and saves by his word, as he did of old!

J. BURNYEAT.

*A paper of John Burnyeat's, that came to hand,
since his works were printed.*

THE twenty-seventh day of the Eighth month, 1667.

—In the morning, as I was laying upon my bed, and my soul greatly afflicted under the view and consideration of the state of things, as it was among Friends in the city of Bristol and some parts adjacent, because of the great contention and opposition; and when I was under the exercise, and my life appeared grieved, even until my soul was brought into sore anguish (at times) and grief, to see how hard some were, and unruly and obstinate: in this travail of spirit my heart being bowed, I said within myself, and before the Lord, and unto him; I matter not, what I be, nor how much I be abased, for we must pass through good and bad report, as the faithful in former times did. And then when I was thus gone down into the grave of self-denial, where I thought I could lie and be trodden upon, the Lord God signified unto me by his holy Spirit on this wise:—Though thou be willing so to be, yet will not I be trodden under; (and further said) there are some of them, that are as dead men before me, because they have lifted up their heel against me, and have rejected my word, and slighted or set at naught my reproof.

And further the Lord God signified unto me, that the spirit of Core and Balaam had entered, which would shut truth out of doors, and pluck Christ from his throne, and lead away the minds of people after their own inventions, to worship the works of their own hands. And He further sig-

nified unto me, how that the plague of leprosy and sore judgment of hardness of heart was upon them ; and they had lost their beauty, and were not fit to come nigh the altar of the Lord, nor to be in the Lord's congregation : and that he would decide the matter. And further he signified (to my comfort,) there was a Priest to stand between the living and the dead, with a holy censer and pure incense, to make an atonement ; and the eyes of all the tender and sensible were to be towards Him, that they might receive the law from his mouth, and that his lips might preserve their knowledge. And further, there was something also of the spirit of Cain, which did appear had entered, even that which did envy Abel's acceptance.

When I had seen these things from the Lord, and it was showed me I could speak forth the matter unto the people ; my heart was wonderfully broken within me : and I cried and said, Woe is me ! must I be the messenger to carry this message unto this people ? And when I was under this exercise, the Lord did signify unto me : If I delivered his word faithfully, then should I deliver my own soul ; but if not, I should die for it ; my life should go for theirs. Then did the dread of the Lord's word, and his majesty strike me down, and made me willing to be given up, without any more reasoning : blessed be the Lord for ever, who both gives the word, and power to deliver it !

J. B.

CHAPTER VII.

An abstract of some of John Burnyeat's letters to his brother, T. A., of London, in continuation of his travels for the last eight years of his life, being all in his own hand-writing.

DUBLIN, the twenty-eighth of the Eighth month, 1682.—I am arrived here safe from Cumberland, and was at all those meetings I had appointed in Westmoreland, viz. I had a large meeting at Camsgill on the third day of the week, it being the general meeting; it was a most pleasant day, the meeting out of doors very large, Friends so generally came in. And indeed the Lord's power was with us; and my heart was greatly enlarged unto Friends. The fourth day following I was at Sedberg; the meeting was without doors by the meeting-house (the doors being shut up by the officers,) it was quiet and large. The fifth day I was at Grayrigg; sixth day at the Height; first day at Swarthmore; and on the third day at Hawkshead, and had a blessed meeting; my heart was comforted. The fourth day we had a great flood, which hindered me from getting home that day; but I got to Keswick in Cumberland; and fifth day got home to our meeting at Pardsay, and was also there the First day, where the Lord enlarged my heart to clear myself heartily that day. The third day I was at the men's meeting, where the Lord was richly with us;

everlasting glory be to him for ever ! The fourth day early I came down to Whitehaven ; several Friends came with me, but the ship being ready I could not stay. So I went on board, and the next day in the evening arrived safe here at Dublin ; where all is well.

Dublin, the thirteenth of the Ninth month, 1682, —It greatly pleases me to hear of Friends in England, and how it is with them this trying day. For as we love the truth, and one another therein, we have a concern upon us for one another, and for the truth in general : and therefore I delight in the truth's prevailing, and in Friends' prospering therein. The Lord stir up all concerned in their places, to be faithful, that none may shrink in the day of trial, &c.

Last week was our half-year's meeting ; many Friends were here, and a blessed season we had, through the enriching virtue of the Lord's power ; and in love, peace, and concord, all was carried on amongst us : and so all was sweet and comfortable. There is a discourse of putting the laws in execution against Dissenters ; however, if the Lord suffer such a thing to be, I believe, it will be for his own glory at last—in manifesting the approved, and trying the faith of his people. But we are yet quiet, save some that are in prison for tithes. Our meetings are large and full in this nation, and Friends tell me, there is an openness in many places. O ! that we may be found faithful, that we may work with him in his vineyard and harvest.

Dublin, the sixth of the Tenth month, 1682.—The Lord preserve us all in the faith which gives the victory, and faithful to God in this trying day ; wherein it appears, that the Lord sees it meet to try

his people, both in their faith and patience, that the approved may be made manifest. We have large meetings in this city, and an openness in divers places in the country. I have been in the counties of Wicklow and Carlow, and the Queen's County, and at the Moate, and Edenderry : and to-morrow I intend, if the Lord will, to go forth again to the province meeting at Rosenallis.

Cork, the eighth of the Eleventh month, 1682.— I have been through these parts as far as Castlehaven, and had a meeting there yesterday week, and so returned back again to Cork, to the six-weeks' meeting ; where we had a blessed season, the Lord's power was richly amongst us. And after to-morrow, I think to go toward Youghal, and so into the County of Tipperary, and then to Castle-dermont meeting ; and then for ought I know, towards Dublin. I am comforted in my service amongst Friends, who are generally glad of my coming, and of what they have an expectation of in relation to my marriage : but my heart is fully satisfied, in that I feel the Lord's goodness towards us, and in his fear I do delight to wait upon him in this, as in other things, and desire that we may be a good example. And, therefore, I find it our way not to be hasty : the Lord give us wisdom to walk so, as that he may be glorified, and Friends in us comforted. This I desire above all earthly things.

Dublin, the thirtieth of the First month, 1683.— I am concerned to hear of the continued sufferings of our Friends in England : we are yet at ease here, as from those things : the Lord work our hearts more and more into thankfulness, and guide us in wisdom, to walk worthy of these favours, that

in displeasure he may never take them from us; but whenever he is pleased to remove them, it may be in his love, for a trial unto us, as I believe it is with many of his faithful ones, whom my soul desires he may still preserve in the faith that gives the victory.

I have been in the north, and did pass amongst Friends, and had a blessed service. I am intending to go forth of this city to morrow towards Wicklow, and so through the county of Wexford to visit Friends there.

Dublin, the tenth of the Third month, 1683.—We have now accomplished that concern of marriage, which we have for some time been under; and blessed be the Lord, he has been unto us a comfortable director in our undertakings in this matter, to the satisfaction of Friends in the general, who were with us. And besides the Friends of this city, we had many of the Friends of the south end of the nation, who were come to be at the half-year's meeting, and some the sooner upon our account; and abundance of other people. We had a blessed meeting; several brethren were with us, and (the Lord's power assisting) all things were well, and we had peace and comfort, and the truth was honoured; and not only Friends, but many sober people were greatly affected with the management thereof. Well; the Lord will honour his name and way and people, if we be but careful to honour him. The Lord is good unto us; we have cause to mind his goodness unto us; and truly that which is chiefly in both our hearts, is to seek his glory, and above all things to desire preservation in his wisdom.

Dublin, the fourth of the Eighth month, 1683.

—I have been a time in the country, and came into the city again but yesterday. I went to the province meetings at Rosenallis, and have visited many meetings: I was comforted with Friends in the good presence of the power that did attend us. Things are pretty well among Friends, and our meetings large and full. We feel little of those sufferings, which our dear Friends in England have heavy upon them: the Lord preserve us tender, low and humble, that we may be worthy of such a mercy from the hand of the Lord.

Dublin, the twenty-fourth of the Fifth month, 1683.—There is a report abroad, that meetings will be disturbed and broken up, but nothing is done yet; it may be that Friends here, as well as in other parts, must bear the burden, as to the right part in suffering; and I hope, it will be the Friends' care to be given up in the innocency, to suffer for that testimony the Lord hath raised in their hearts, by which we have been kept innocent and clear from the beginning under all governments: and so we never could touch nor join with that which did seek the hurt of any. This must be our cloak or covering, and this gives boldness, and is and will be the ease of the spirits of all the faithful, and that which will answer the consciences of our adversaries. And I believe, if some suffering do come, it will work for good through trying our spirits, faith, and patience, so that many may come to know themselves, and the Lord, and his power also, better thereby.

From the Marshalsea prison in Dublin, the ninth of the Sixth month, 1683.—We are very likely to partake in some measure of suffering

with our Friends and brethren in England. The last First day, the mayor sent the marshal to our meeting in the forenoon; I, was speaking, and he commanded me to go with him, which after some discourse I did. He commanded the meeting to disperse, but Friends kept quiet in their places. I was carried before the mayor, with whom I had some discourse to this effect: he asked me, why we did act contrary to the government, having been commanded not to meet? I told him, we do nothing in contempt of the government. But, said he, why do you not obey then? I said, because it is matter of conscience to us, and that which we believe to be our indispensable duty, to meet together to worship God. To which he answered, you may be misled. I told him if we were misled, we were willing to be informed, if any could do it. Then it was urged, other dissenters had submitted, and why would not we? I said, what they do, will be no plea for us before the judgment-seat of the great God. So after some other discourse, the mayor committed me to this prison. The professors have left their public meeting-places: the bishop of Dublin sent for them, and they consulted together, and with consent returned this answer, that they would forbear. The bishop also sent for A. S. and did to him require the same of Friends; but A. S. told him, we could not forbear to meet to worship God, &c. So in the end the bishop said, if we would meet, we must take what did follow, &c. However, I hope it will work for the honour of truth. The Lord preserve Friends faithful and valiant: I hope God has a remnant, that will stand in the trial: though if sufferings do come hard, it may cause some to turn their backs. Let the Lord

order, as he pleaseth ; I know no better way, than to endeavour to be prepared for suffering.

Dublin, the ninth of the Seventh month, 1683.—We are satisfied, that the Lord's hand is in all these things ; and doubtless, he hath a purpose to magnify his arm, and thereby to exalt his own name and precious truth in the end ; and in his so doing, his people shall be comforted, and receive the reward, even every one, that endures unto the end. And truly, as our eye is unto him in our exercise, we feel still a ground for a sure hope, even that which abides as an anchor sure and stedfast ; by which we are held, that we cannot be driven away. In this is our comfort, when we seem as to the outward, as if we had no surer place, than upon the tossing waves of the troubled tempestuous sea ; all is uncertain, no stedfastness nor stay for rest unto any in looking out. And therefore I often think, I am satisfied it is God's way, thus to blow upon the nations with the breath of his displeasure, that all the waters (for the people are waters) may be tossed together, and that they may be made restless, and driven on heaps, and into confusion ; and so become a sea, into which Babylon, as a great millstone, must fall, to make her perpetual end ; even that mystery Babylon spoken of, of old, that hath so prevailed, and made the nations drunk, and gone over peoples and languages,—not one people only : and all that partake with her in her sins, must partake with her in her plagues and judgments. And therefore is the Lord calling out of her ; but her sins, her delights and delicacies, many are unwilling to part with : and that is the reason, why many stay there, that do not think themselves within her borders. But the nations are drunk with her wine, and

know not what they are doing ; for their understanding is lost. O ! the sadness of that day ! my soul often doth view it : but the greatness of their sin doth draw it down upon them, which is come into the view and remembrance of the dreadful God.

And therefore may all the righteous rejoice, who truly feel redemption out of her, and are come, through Christ the seed, to be sons and daughters of Zion ; and so heirs of the peaceable Jerusalem, which is built upon the rock and foundation, which the gates of hell cannot prevail against.

We are here still detained prisoners, and have of late written to the mayor ; but he answered, he would not set us at liberty without an order from the deputy.* Then we wrote to him, and A. S. and S. C. did go to him, and he was very kind to them, and told them, he had a greater love for us, than any other dissenters because he believed that we did mean honestly.

Dublin, the sixteenth of the Eighth month, 1683.— I am now cleared of my imprisonment ; we wrote to the deputy a few lines, which he carried to the council. After which he sent his secretary to the recorder of the city with his order for our release ; which was very full and clear, without anything demanded of us. I have not heard that Friends in any part of this nation are meddled with. We enjoy great favours at the hand of the Lord : O ! that we may walk worthy thereof for ever, and be moved thereby to a sense, of what our dear Friends in England still suffer ; and then will the mercies we live under, be rightly valued.

* The Earl of Arran.

Dublin, the ninth of the Twelfth month, 1683.—I have been through all the meetings in Ulster, and returned home but the third day this week. I had a blessed time amongst Friends, and found things in the main very well. I had large and peaceable meetings, which is a mercy I desire the Lord may so sanctify unto us, as that we may walk worthy of them, while they are afforded us : and when he sees meet to order it otherwise, we may be prepared. I have been but little at home of late, and know nothing but that I may go next week forth of town again towards the other end of the nation.

Dublin, the seventeenth of the First month, 1684.—I came home this day : I have been through the most of the South and Western parts, and have had a good journey, and found Friends generally well, and all our meetings peaceable.

Dublin, the twentieth of the First month, 1684.—In my last I hinted, that I was but newly come home from visiting Friends in the South-end of the nation, and so from the Province-meeting at Castle-Dermont. I came home on the second day, and an appointed marriage* was to be on the third day, which [took place] accordingly ; and abundance of people there was, so that we had a good opportunity, and the people generally well satisfied : so that a very great report of recommendation is abroad through the city concerning our order and method, and the gravity and solemn manner of our accomplishing of it. It is greatly our comfort, when in all our ways we honour the truth. I have had a busy winter in travelling, and that prosperously : and now I see nothing, but I shall have liberty to stay awhile

* This was Amos Strettel's marriage.

at home. The Lord is good to us, and orders things to our comfort ; and we are comforted in him, and one in another : blessed be his name for ever !

Dublin, the ninth of the Third month, 1684.—It is just the time of our half-year's meeting, and there are many Friends in town. We had a very large meeting, and very quiet and well, and things in the general very well amongst Friends as relating to truth. We have cause to be thankful to the Lord for his mercies and comforts we enjoy ; who is the Author of all mercies and comforts, sanctifying all things rightly to them that fear and love him, through the sanctifying of their hearts by his word, that keeps, bears up, and upholds. O ! the Lord keep all our hearts stayed in this, and then will all things work together for good, according to the ancient saying.

Crabtreebeck in Cumberland, the twelfth of the Sixth month, 1684.—I left Dublin, sixth day was a week ; I have some intent to go over into Scotland, but am not yet certain of the time : but do hope, if the Lord preserve me in my liberty, to return into this country again.

Graysouthern, the nineteenth of the Sixth month.—Between two or three weeks' time I hope to be as far as Edinburgh.

Leith, the sixth of the Eighth month, 1684.—I have had a very peaceable and prosperous journey, since I came into Scotland hitherto. I came to Edinburgh at the time appointed, and stayed here one First day : and then took my journey into the north, and J. H. and J. T. with me. I spent about three weeks there, and in my journey : had meetings, while I was there, almost every day, and a blessed open service (through the Lord's power) amongst Friends. For

There is an open, tender-hearted people, and they were glad of my coming; for there had not been any English Friend among them of a long time. And being clear, J. T. and I came away this day a week, and left J. H. there; we got to this town the fourth day of the last week, and were at Edinburgh the fifth day at their meeting, and yesterday had a blessed meeting there in the forenoon, and here the afternoon: and to-morrow we intend to take our journey for the West; and do hope to be clear this day week to go for England, and to be in Cumberland to-morrow week (if the Lord will.) Hitherto all hath been very quiet where I have been; and I hear nothing, but Friends' meetings are quiet all over Scotland, and Friends are suffered to be quiet: but in some places they are very busy with some other people. Here hath been a pretty deal ado about a plot; but of these things we know nothing, nor in such doings have any hand, and therefore about it desire not to meddle. Though others' doings may bring sufferings upon us; yet still our happiness is, to be kept innocent, that if we suffer, it may not be for evil-doing; and then it will be well.

Eaglesfield, the twelfth of the Ninth month, 1684.
—Truly in this trying day, wherein we are all of us like to have our faith and love to God tried, our greatest concern always is, to be in our hearts truly and wisely given up, and resigned unto the will of God; that we may therein rest in and under whatsoever the Lord may order for us, or call us unto; and then may we have peace in every exercise, and have dominion in our spirits over every opposition, which are many the true travelling Israel of God doth meet with in this age.

I got very well through the West of Scotland, and met with no disturbance: all was quiet, when I was there. Our meetings are quiet in Cumberland: I suppose, I may stay yet about two weeks here.

Stockton, the eleventh of the Tenth month, 1684. —I came out of Cumberland about two weeks ago, and was at Strickland-head, and then came on into Bishoprick, and thought, I should but have touched at Darnton [Darlington] and this town, and so on into Yorkshire; but when I was at Darnton, it came upon me to give Friends a visit further in this county. And so I went to Durham, and had a blessed meeting there, and did visit the prisoners. And then I went to Sunderland, had a meeting there. And then to Shields, and to T. F. had a meeting there. I thence returned to Shotton, and to this town, and had a blessed meeting in the evening yesternight, it being their meeting time. They are usually kept out of their meeting-house here; but yesternight we got in, and the meeting was full and peaceable: and so have been all the meetings, where I have been. And now I am ready to go over into Yorkshire, and do hope to be at York in about two weeks' time.—I suppose I may be there First day come two weeks.

Grayrigg, the twenty-sixth of the Eleventh month, 1684-5.—I have had a very comfortable and peaceable journey, and came through Cleveland and the Moors to Whitby, and from thence up to Malton, and to York: meetings have been quiet all along where I have been. Yesterday fortnight a constable was at the meeting-house before I came, and stood in the way to speak with the Friend that I came along with, it being just before the sessions. He had a warrant, and was to give his return at ses-

sions; and therefore threatened, that if we would not forbear to meet that day, he must carry us before a justice. However, after we had reasoned awhile with him, we parted, and went into the meeting; and he went away, and did not come into the meeting. So we had a blessed meeting, and parted in peace; and the Lord's power was over all, to our great joy.

This was all the appearance of molestation I have yet met with: and I have had a very good season, and abundance of meetings, since I left York. In Yorkshire I was at Robert Lodge's house, and had his company a pretty time out of Yorkshire. I went to Lancaster, and when I had visited Friends, I came into Westmoreland to Preston meeting; and yesterday was at Sedberg: we had a peaceable meeting, but out of the meeting-house in the street, the meeting-house being locked up from Friends. I intend some meetings in this county, and so down to Swarthmore, and on into Cumberland, as the Lord makes way.

Eaglesfield, the twenty-fifth of the Twelfth month, 1684.—I have had a very peaceable journey, and visited Friends' meetings very fully in Westmoreland, and all was quiet. Since I came into Cumberland, I was at Carlisle and the Border; now my service seems to be over, and I am preparing to go home. I was at Workington this day, and to-morrow I intend to go to Whitehaven, and to take the first opportunity for Dublin. Thus far I have been preserved very well through all my travels; and now I hope I shall get home.

Dublin, the twenty-fifth of the First month, 1685.—I got well here last night, but was put ashore in the north, in Strangford River, about

seventy miles from Dublin, and about four-and-twenty from Lisnagarvy: and being put ashore there, I found an openness in my heart to give Friends a visit in the north; so I spent near two weeks among them, and had many good meetings. I am very glad and my heart is truly thankful unto the Lord, for his preservation through this last journey so safe and clear, and that he ordered my way so comfortably home; where I hope I may be of service in my place, and a comfort to Friends. The Lord our God is to be minded by us in all things.

I find things amongst Friends generally pretty well, as formerly, and meetings very large and peaceable here and in the north. I am intending to go out of town to the province meeting.

Dublin, the sixteenth of the Third month, 1685.
—At this half-year's meeting we had a very great appearance of Friends out of the country, many say they have not seen so many ever before: and to our public meetings abundance of other people came, even far more than could get into our house: and they were very sober, so that the truth hath a good place amongst sober people. Though the professors, who shrink and hide, we are informed, do rail against Friends; they seem, as if they were given up to hardness of heart, and so set in their blindness and hardness, that they go on, till the rod comes upon them. For they do not lay anything so to heart, as thereby to be brought off from the evil error of their hard and prejudiced minds. It doth appear, that they envy Friends' good, and are offended, that we do not fly into holes as they do. But as for Friends, they are very cheerful; and we have had a very blessed season, and were kept in

unity, peace, and concord in our meetings and concerns: and the Lord's good presence is precious with us, to our comfort and consolation. And blessed be the Lord, he is not wanting unto us, both to sanctify our hearts, and also to fill them with his spiritual mercies, and to contribute of his other mercies and blessings, whereby he may make our days pleasant unto us; that with gladness and joy of soul we may serve and praise him, who is worthy for ever. Amen!

Dublin, the fourth of the Sixth month, 1685.—Yesterday I came home, having been through the south end of the nation, and between six and seven weeks away; and have had a very comfortable journey amongst Friends, and peaceable. Blessed be the Lord for his mercies towards us.

Dublin, the sixth of the Seventh month, 1685.—I am glad to hear, that things are so still and quiet in England, and that Friends have some little breathing time of ease from their sharp persecution. It is the Lord's mercy towards us: but our innocence is that which must speak for us; and if we lose that, our defence would depart from us; and then there would be none to fly unto: for vain is all help from below. Therefore it will be our happiness to rest quiet, with our faith in Him; for he is able to preserve, who promised them of old, he would give them favour in the eyes of the king of Babylon. And it had been their safety to have trusted in his word; but in their taking their own way, they brought ruin upon themselves; and so will all do now, whose eye is not unto the Lord to stay their minds upon him, but who look out to follow their own contrivances. I know the truth will keep out of all such things, if Friends be

careful to keep under the conduct thereof: but if fleshly reasonings prevail in the unbelief, then the eye goes out, and the mind [falls] into the haste; so the patience and long-suffering is lost, and the hope and faith let fall. Then the creature can neither trust in the Lord, nor stay rightly for His time and season.

Our meetings are very quiet and peaceable, which is a mercy we greatly value, and our hearts in the Lord's truth are at rest, and that is our comfort.— Both there and here, and wherever we are, it will be our place to be prepared for suffering, that is likely to be our portion for the truth: and it is but as it was of old, if any will live godly in Christ Jesus, he must suffer persecution. I am ready to go out of town to visit Friends in the county of Wicklow.

Dublin, the nineteenth of the Seventh month, 1685.—I am sorry, that so much occasion of offence should be given to some Friends here, by some that take liberty there (viz. at London,) by running back into such things as the Truth condemns, and so to be encouragers of pride and vanity, which will grow too fast, to the drawing down of the displeasure of the Lord upon man. Therefore I would have Friends to stand in that which is plain, and keep to the cross in their trades and dealings, and clothes, and in all things, that they may remain standing witnesses for God in righteousness against pride, and all the vanity of the world; for therein will stand our safety for ever. I desire, that we may live up to the truth in all things, that the blessing may attend us. And indeed, we had need to be circumspect; for every lawful thing is not expedient; because there may be an unlawful liberty

strengthened thereby. The Lord keep us all in his wisdom truly lowly and humble, that we may still honour him in all things, and remain a people through our day to his glory. For if with us in our day we let the spirit of the world prevail to the overthrowing of our own testimony, what example and footsteps shall we leave to them that come after us?

I am full, and could say much, for my heart is concerned to hear them, who themselves are not so good as they ought to be, strengthen themselves by bad examples. For though some may be slow to mind that which is good, so as to learn good from the example thereof; yet they are quick to take encouragement from the contrary.

Dublin, the eighteenth of the Ninth month.—We have had a comfortable season this half-year's meeting, quiet and peaceable, and in love and unity among ourselves; so that we have cause to be truly thankful unto the Lord for that mercy, amongst all other mercies we enjoy from his blessed hand.

Dublin, the twenty-ninth of the Fourth month, 1686.—Though the world be full of tumults, disquietness and amazements; yet, blessed be the God of our salvation, who hath brought us into a degree of that rest, which the distresses that are from below cannot reach: so that there is something known to retire unto for a sanctuary, that the world knows not; neither can the destroyer come into it. Therefore our safety is, always to keep our interest therein; that we may have our privilege unto our mansion there, and so rest in the time of trouble, where no hurter nor destroyer can come. The Lord's power is to be admired, loved and believed in for ever, who gives us blessed seasons, and calms,

and quiets. It is true for ever, the winds and seas must obey him: blessed are all that put their trust in him. Fears and restlessness do possess the hearts of many; but for our parts, we have an eye unto the Lord, and know he hath a hand in ordering of, or suffering all things, for ends best known unto himself; and therein we rest.

And I desire, that the Lord by the indwelling of his power in our souls, may still so keep and preserve us in that simplicity and godly sincerity, wherein we may always know one another, and be a comfort one unto another, in the plainness and simplicity of that blessed truth, which saves and sanctifies from all unrighteousness, and unites unto God, and brings into near fellowship one with another. For this is that which sanctifies, fits, and prepares the heart of man for every good virtue, and settles and composes his nature, not only for heavenly mercies, and that he may receive and enjoy them, but also for his station in this world, and the enjoyment of temporal favours; that he may receive and enjoy them with a blessing, and in true comfort; and also be a blessing and a comfort in his place unto all concerned. This is the happiness and advantage, which is to be witnessed through the working and indwelling of that eternal power, which God Almighty has revealed in the hearts of his people in this day, as there is a faithful minding of, and subjection unto it, in the true love of it. And sure many there are, who if they knew the comfortable effects of it, would not abide under its condemnation, as they do: but it is, as it was said of old, They will not believe, though a man should tell it unto them.

、 Dublin, the sixth of the Eleventh month, 1688,

—The account of the death of my dear wife will be come to hand before this, which is no small exercise to me. But though my loss be great, in having her removed from me, yet I believe it is her gain. For she has been under great weakness and exercise of body a long time; however, this I can say, she bore her exercise beyond expectation; and told some Friends, she believed she was kept the longer, because I was so unwilling to give her up. And I must confess, it was hard, that it could not easily be got to, and that for several reasons: but when I saw, that it must be so, I was made willing, for her exercises took hold of my spirit. The morning of the day she departed, she said to me, she was afraid her passage would be hard: I told her, I did hope not. She was under a great exercise of pain, but bore it with wonderful quietness, and abode under it as one waiting for deliverance; and very sensibly spoke to me a little before her departure. So she went away like a lamb, without so much as a groan. We lived comfortably together; her nature was good, kind, and courteous; she was merciful, very considerate, and of good understanding: she will be greatly missed in this place, for Friends had a good love and esteem for her; and I have experience and know, that many who seemingly might exceed in appearance, will come far behind.

Dublin, the seventh of the Twelfth month, 1688.
—We are pretty quiet here at present; but people's hearts are like the troubled waters,—no stay nor settlement, who cannot tell what way to go to be satisfied, or be quiet in their minds: only they who know the truth, may rest there and be quiet under the covering of it; otherwise it would be mighty uneasy. I did intend for Cumberland, but

at present Friends could not well bear my going away, neither have I freedom in myself; so I rest in my place, waiting the time and season for it.

Dublin, the thirteenth of the Third month, 1689.
—Our half-year's meeting is over, at which were assembled many Friends and brethren from divers parts of the nation, according to our usual manner. We enjoy our meetings peaceably and in quiet generally over the nation; and in most places our meetings are large, and many people come in: and all the people have [now] their liberty in the free exercise of their consciences in matters of religion. And as for Friends and truth, they are in good esteem, both with high and low. The Lord's care and mercy over us hath been largely manifest, and Friends learn great experience of the preservation of the mighty arm of the Lord in this great day of trial, which is upon this nation; yet to our joy and comfort, Friends are carried over it in the faith of the Son of God, and have been preserved miraculously, even beyond our expectation in several places, where their trials have been very great, and the dangers, as to appearance, dreadful; yet Friends have kept to their habitations, trusting in the Lord, and following their lawful concerns and business.

At this half-year's meeting our hearts were made more than ordinarily glad to see one another's faces in such a time as this; and the Lord's power and presence were with us, which crowns our meetings: and in the sense and sweetness of the same are most of our Friends and brethren this day gone towards their outward beings in the peace of God, and in great love and unity, which did preciouslly abound amongst us in this our meeting, throughout all our concerns and affairs,

The fourth day next I am intending to go into the country towards our province meeting; and think to visit Friends before I return.

Wexford, the Fifth month, 1689.—I have had a very comfortable journey among Friends, and for the most part very large meetings, beyond my expectation, and very peaceable, viz. on the third day at Tipperary, and fourth day at John Fennel's. But at Tipperary I had like to have been got hold of by the rapperees, and lost my mare; but I got away and escaped, and rode back into the town. Last First day we had a very large meeting at Edward Gooding's; it was their monthly meeting. This day we have a meeting here, to-morrow at Samuel Watson's, and the fifth day at the meeting that belongs to Lambs-town. I think Carlow monthly meeting is next First day, I intend to be there.

Dublin, the twelfth of the Eighth month, 1689.—Friends, as far as I can have account, are in the general pretty well in health, and at liberty, and our meetings quiet and peaceable; and so are all others, for aught I know. But many in the country are under sufferings, as respects the loss of their goods, by reason of the wars this land is greatly attended with. However, the eye of our Friends is to the Lord, who doubtless suffers not all these things to come to pass without a cause, but to be a chastisement for the sinfulness of the children of men. O! that all would take warning, to keep out of that which provokes him to displeasure, that his hand might be removed. And truly, that which is our comfort and stay in the midst of all, is the holy presence of his power, which attends our meetings; from the evidence of which we receive

our satisfaction, that the Lord is well-pleased with us. And this is that which bears up our spirits in the time of exercise.

Dublin, the twenty-fifth of the First month, 1690.—I had the opportunity this last winter to go amongst Friends throughout both in Leinster and Munster; which was a great satisfaction both to me and them. Friends are generally well, and our meetings are full, and we enjoy them in quietness as formerly: and the Lord's presence is with us to our great comfort, which is valued by all who are rightly sensible of it, as a great mercy.

Dublin, the twenty-first of the Sixth month, 1690.—I have been visiting Friends in the North, and had an acceptable and comfortable season amongst them, and found them very cheerful. It is still to be lamented, that sin and wickedness should so abound; but the Lord doubtless will plead with all that grieve him, in his own way and time, though he be long-suffering. And therefore it will be our happiness, to rest quiet under his disposing and ordering hand, by which he will in his wisdom and power overrule all men and things, who knows best how to execute justice and judgment upon all, according to their works or deserts; for before him all things are naked and bare, therefore he cannot miss in judgment. We resting here, and waiting upon him, it quiets our spirits, and sweetens them: and also I can say, it makes many bitter things sweet and so sanctified, that we meet with comfort in tribulation. And though it be natural unto and lawful for us in affliction, reverently to pray for and desire deliverance, and also when obtained, to rejoice therein, and bless the Lord therefore; yet still our happiness is, to mind his providences, and wise

ordering of all things, and therewith to be content, without either murmuring at, or struggling against, what he seems good to bring to pass. And so here we shall all rest in one fold and covenant, and feed in one pasture together, and so have a fellow-feeling of one another's joy or sufferings. For our resting-place is but one in the Truth, and our salvation stands therein for ever ; and therefore we need look at no other.

JOHN BURNYEAT.

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EPISTLES OF JOHN BURNYEAT.

[Of the Twenty-three Epistles printed in the first edition of John Burnyeat's Works, the Editor selects the following :—]*

TO MY DEAR FRIENDS IN THE NORTH OF IRELAND
ABOUT KILMORE, LURGAN, AND THAT WAY.

*Barbadoes, the third day of the
First month, 1685.*

Dearly Beloved,

UNTO whom the pure love of my heart in the covenant of life doth plenteously flow forth at this time, my soul dearly salutes you all, who are faithful unto the Lord, without respect of persons ; whose minds are kept faithful unto the unchangeable power of life, wherein your souls have been refreshed, and by which you have been gathered into the belief of the truth, and to the acknowledgment of the same ; which in a good degree hath been made manifest in and among you. My exhortation, as a brother, in the bowels of love unfeigned unto you, is, that as the Lord hath appeared, and made manifest his power in your hearts, even so wait ye ; that your

* NOTE.—A dash in an Epistle, denotes the omission of one or more sentences.

dwelling ye may come to witness to be in the same. For Friends, ye know, that it is not sufficient only to know that He hath appeared, but that ye feel your dwelling to be in the power, and in the daily sense of the renewing of his appearing in your hearts : that by it your hearts may be kept open unto him, and so you from day to day may know the renewing of his presence, and the virtue of his own life in you. O ! my dear Friends, this is that by which every heart may be kept sweet and living, and virtuous, and open unto the Lord ; so that the issues of his love will become as a refreshing river, unto every soul that keeps faithful unto him.

Therefore, Friends, all mind your standing and your dwelling in the power, and wait for the inward operation of it in your hearts ; that, by its dwelling in you, and living in you, your hearts may be kept tender, and contrite, and broken before the Lord. And Friends, beware of hardness of heart, I warn you in God's fear ; for therein the deceitful worker gets advantage, and unbelief comes to enter ; and so such will come short of the rest that God hath prepared for his people, and through the deceitfulness of sin will come to be more hardened. And so Friends, lest this should come upon any one of you, and ye fall short of the rest, *watch* in the fear of God ; and keep down to the tender principle of life every one of you in your own particulars, by which your hearts may be kept out of the hardness in the tenderness and brokenness of heart ; in which state the Lord is witnessed to dwell with man and in man, according to his promise. And so will you know the growing of the holy seed in you into the pure dominion, by which that which would darken or harden, will be subjected, and kept in the

subjection.—Therefore Friends, mind your standing in the seed Christ, the true vine, that you may have life abundantly, and know its abounding in you. For whosoever goes from him, the life, the seed, the vine, Christ Jesus the power of God, shall wither, and decay, and die; and in the end be fit for nothing but the fire. And this shall such know, who in the day of the Lord's gathering, and tender visiting in mercy and loving-kindness, will not be won and gained into faithfulness, but who slight the day of their visitation.

Therefore my dear Friends, be faithful unto the Lord every individual of you, in that which you have received from him, and wait to be guided by that in your hearts. And keep low and down to the principle of life in your own hearts, that you may never become stiff-necked, nor hardened in your hearts again. For this was Israel's sin of old, whose hearts were hardened, and whose neck was become like an iron sinew, that it could not bend unto God's yoke. For which he was wroth with his people, and cast off his inheritance in that day; so that their enemies had power over them, and laid their dwellings desolate. Those things are left unto us for an example, that we might not fall after the same manner of unbelief; but fear lest a promise being left us of entering into his rest, we should fall short through unbelief, and so lose the inheritance, and so by the enemy have our habitations laid desolate, and we be carried away captives out of our dwelling-place. These things, my Friends and Brethren, I lay before you in the fear and love of God, which is weighty in my heart towards you all: and I desire that the Lord may preserve you all faithful unto himself, in the feeling of his life and good

presence, by which your hearts may be kept open unto him, and so open in true love one towards another; that as a family in the love of God you may dwell together: in which love my soul dearly salutes you all, and in it I remain your brother and companion in the tribulation and patience of Christ Jesus.

J. B.

TO FRIENDS.

London, 10th of Third month, 1677.

Dear and well beloved,

UNTO you, who are the called of God in those parts, unto whom the visitation of his day hath reached, and upon whose hearts the heavenly light thereof hath shined in its pure spiritual breakings forth, so that you are become the children thereof, and do walk therein; unto you all doth the tender salutation of my soul reach in the love of God, and in the fellowship, which is a mystery, which is held in a pure conscience, and continued, as we walk and abide in the light. In this light we have fellowship with the Father, and with the Son, and also one with another, and so are of one family and household, partakers of that one bread, which the sanctified in all ages did feed upon; which is that which we are to wait for in this day, that we may live thereby unto God, and grow through the divine nourishment thereof into his nature, and into his strength; wherein we may triumph over the adversary, as the ancients did of old, and rejoice in the God of our salvation, who is our strength and tower of safety for ever.

Dear, Friends, great and large hath the love and kindness of our God been unto us (who were strangers, aliens, and enemies in our minds unto him) in this, that he hath called and chosen us to be his people, and to bear witness unto his appearance, and the shinings forth of his light, and of the glory of his presence, whereby he hath richly comforted our souls, and lifted up our heads above all sorrow, even when the enemy hath thought to sink us down into the pit. Thus hath the Lord dealt bountifully with our souls, and been a ready help in the needful time ; to him be the honour and glory for ever and ever ! So that now it behoves all, after so many deliverances, favours, and mercies, to [cleave] close unto the Lord, and seek his glory above all, and that with all their strength ; that so he who is the good husbandman, may be glorified through every one's bringing forth fruit,—according to Christ's command.

Now my Friends, this all observe, that none can bring forth fruit unto God's glory, but as they abide in Christ the living vine ; from him is the life received, by which every one lives unto God ; and it is by the virtue of that life, that every one must act to his praise. And therefore, see that you all retain it in its own purity, and live in subjection thereunto through your whole day ; that you may be as fruitful branches, abiding in the right nature, and bearing holy fruit : and then will you feel the holy dew abide upon your spirits, throughout your age, which will preserve you from withering, your leaf from fading ; and so your fruit shall be ripe in due season, and not be untimely brought forth in that which will not endure : for that in which we have believed, will endure for ever. The hea-

venly power which God hath revealed in our hearts, and made manifest for a standing foundation, is sure for ever; upon which, as you all abide steadfast, the gates of hell, with all the power of darkness, shall not prevail against you; but you shall be able to withstand him, and keep your habitations in the dominion thereof, and dwell in peace upon the rock of safety, in the midst of all storms; and sing for joy of heart, when those that forsake this rock, shall howl and lament for vexation of spirit. For the Lord God will bring his day and his power over all, and upon all that fly to any shelter, or seek any other defence, who have once known his truth; and he will be unto such as a moth, and as rottenness, and their strength he will waste, and their garment and clothing he will destroy, and their beauty and glory he will cause to fade; though they have been as a beautiful flower in the head of the fat valley, yet will fading come upon them, even dryness at the root, and withering and decaying upon the beauty of their blossoms. Therefore let all keep unto that, and in that, which will not decay, come to nothing, nor ever be turned into darkness; but abide in its virtue and glory, in and by which the Lord hath visited you, and through which his day hath dawned upon your souls, the morning whereof you have known bright and clear, as without clouds, in which you have seen the Son in his glory to appear unto your souls, with his heavenly healing, warmth, and virtue. Now Friends, this is that which for ever is to be kept to, that the day may be known to increase in the light and glory of it, in its own clearness, without mixture; not mixing with it your own wisdom, thoughts, or carnal imaginations, which do prove such clouds,

where they are suffered to arise, that they bring darkness over the understanding, and make the day cloudy and dark, and so occasion wandering, and to some turn the very eyelids of the morning into the shadow of death. And through such things hath the enemy so prevailed over some, that he hath brought them again into the night of everlasting darkness and confusion, ere they have been aware whither he would lead.—

Dear Friends, that which preserves from these dangers, is that arm and power which God revealed in the beginning, by which (as we are witnesses) he redeemed our souls out of many afflictions. And therefore, let it be every one's care, to wait for a clear and sensible feeling of this same power in its own pure nature, to spring up in all your hearts every day; and then will your delight be so in it, and your acquaintance (in a clear understanding) will be so with it, that you will never be deceived, so as to take any other for it. Then to your comfort, will your heavenly peace spring, under the power and government of him, who is the Prince of true peace; and so will your hearts be made truly glad, and weighty, and ponderous, and not be carried about with every wind: for in this is the true and sure establishment of the soul with grace in the covenant of life for ever; and these are they whose peace is of a standing nature, who are not given to change. But this I have always observed, that where there is an uncertain spirit or mind, though in some states into which at times they may come, they may have peace, and feel some refreshment, yet for want of constancy and stedfastness (which is preserved through a true, watchful, and diligent attendance upon that which

doth not change, which is sure for ever,) they lose their habitation, and their state of peace, and come to be tossed in their minds, and afflicted in their spirits, and also are the occasion of tossing, affliction; and distress unto others, who not being aware, may sometimes be in danger to suffer with them, when they fly from the word, that should uphold, as it was with Jonah in the days of old. And therefore it is good for every one, to have their hearts established with grace, and in the grace to wait for a settlement; that under the pure teachings thereof, they may be preserved from going into those things that will procure woe: and so shall every one's state in that which is good, be more and more constant, and then will there be a growing, and going forward and not backward. For that which doth occasion any to linger, or draw back, is carelessness, unbelief, and disobedience; and in such the Lord's soul doth take no pleasure. Therefore in that which doth not change let all live, by which all changeable and mutable thoughts, and imaginations, and desires will be judged down, and the spring of life over all will flow: and the first will be last; for in that the beauty and glory doth stand for ever. And all that abide not in it, and grow in the virtue thereof, whatever they have been, at the best will be but as a fading flower in the head of the fat valley, as it was with Ephraim; the Lord will take no delight in them, but reject them, and cast them out, as such whose beauty is gone, whose gold is become dim, and whose wine is mixed with water: and so as reprobate silver shall they be esteemed even of men, because the Lord hath rejected them.

So the Lord God keep and preserve you all in that which was from the beginning, and will endure

unto the end; that therein ye may flourish and grow, as the lilly of the valley, and the tree by the rivers of water. This is the desire of my soul for you all, who truly loves you in the love of God; wherein I remain one with you, and am your brother in the truth,

J. B.

Let copies of this be sent to New England, Virginia, Maryland, and Barbadoes.

TO THE WOMEN'S MEETINGS IN CUMBERLAND.

London, 20th of Fourth month, 1678.

Dear and well-beloved in the Lord,

WITH you my soul hath precious unity in the spiritual fellowship, and nearness, and heavenly oneness which stands in that life, by which we were first quickened; in which we live, and in the increase of which we grow into a heavenly understanding and true soundness in discerning and judgment; whereby the faithful come to be more and more accomplished for their places, and fitted for every good work, that so they may answer their office and membership in the true body, whereof Christ Jesus is the head; of which body we are made living members, through his love, who hath called us, and in his Son chosen us to be heirs of life.

Dear Friends, yourselves know that he, who through his bounty hath blessed us with spiritual blessings in Christ Jesus, so that we are made stewards of his manifold graces, doth now require answerable service from us all, according to our gifts received from him; and whosoever is found

faithful to their gifts and places, shall certainly witness an increase, and grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and so come more and more into true soundness, to the spirit of a sound mind. For you know, how richly the power of Christ was manifested in us and among us in the beginning, and how wonderfully it did work for the redeeming of our hearts out of the world, the vanity and pleasures of it; that we might love and affect heavenly things, and delight in the glory of that which comes from heaven.—But since that time many have been the exercises, and weighty have been the trials, that have been met with in our spiritual progress, through which the Lord hath led us; and many temptations hath the Lord delivered us from, and led us out of; and many weaknesses hath he passed by, and trespasses hath he in his great mercy forgiven; so that to this day we remain, and that in covenant with him; therefore have we cause to praise him, and to sing unto him.

Oh! my dear Friends, methinks I am as if I were talking with you of the Lord's mercies and former loving-kindnesses and dealings with us; and being also under a sense of our present state and capacities, to which he hath brought us, my bowels within me are even melted with a holy love and tenderness towards you; and in that love I send these lines, as the salutation of my soul, in that which lives for ever, and as a signification of that entire love, which in my heart lives towards you; wherein I desire, that both you and I may so mind our present state, and our growth, and the increase of the mercies of our God unto us, as to answer them by a faithful serving of him, and one another in that love which thinks no evil, and is never weary of

doing good, and yet will not vaunt itself. Now this is that which lives in my view, the power of Christ; which was so richly manifested in the beginning, and which did then work to the preparing of us to be a people fit to do his will; and so it wrought into a cleansing, washing, and sanctifying of us, that we might be holy vessels fit for his use. Now being prepared, the same power in the faithful works mightily, to the fitting and furnishing of us unto every good work, that we might be to the praise of his grace, who hath called us; and if we so be to his praise, we must grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ: And if we grow in the knowledge of him, as we have known him to save us from sin, and to destroy the evil one, and so to be our sanctification and redemption; even so we must wait to know him to be made of God unto us wisdom, that he may be our wisdom, and that the fountain of it unto us may be the gift of his holy power in our hearts. And so then, as it did mightily work in our hearts to prepare us, even so will the same gift be felt to work mightily to furnish us with wisdom, and to enable for every good work; and so you will know him to be made of God wisdom unto you. For the holy dread of the power upon the heart in righteousness being felt, guides in wisdom him or her who speaks; the same holy fear and dread upon the heart guides him in silence, who in silence sitteth, whose mouth is not opened, and so he is made still: and Christ your head, who is one in the man, and in the woman, is wisdom unto you; and so here all will be kept in your places, as you keep in subjection unto him who is the Head, the Husband of the true wife.

So dear Friends, mind his heavenly power, and

keep under a holy reverence unto it; and that will keep you savoury and reverent in your meetings, and clear and in a good understanding, and subject one unto another; and so you will be co-workers together, and helpers one of another, and you will come to have the benefit one of another's gifts: and thus as members, will you supply in a blessed unity every one your office in the body. Therefore my counsel, as a brother in love, unto you is, let all be subject: let none, in whom the tender life in a heavenly reverence doth move for counsel, advice or otherwise, quench it, or stop the service; for in so doing others may be wronged, as well as the individual, unto whom the Lord intends benefit by the gift; for it is not good to stop: only let all take heed, that their own spirits may be subject, that Christ may be head in all, and that he may be your wisdom. And be open and ready in your hearts to receive counsel, help and instruction one from another; and keep down the forward, heady and rash spirit, that would run without reverence, and speak without the true fear, from which none will rightly understand, nor have a true sense of the weight of the service of this day.

O! it is fresh in my heart, the dread, the reverence, the fear, that our hearts were filled with in the beginning, in which we went about truth's concerns; this same is still to be felt and minded, and then all will be kept savoury: and in this will all your meetings, your care, and labour of love be a sweet smelling sacrifice unto the Lord.

And Friends, let your monthly and quarterly meetings be kept orderly for the service determined and aimed at, that you may be retired from the world, and such not concerned in the service proposed for such meetings; that so all that come,

may be either capable of doing service in a reverent mind, or learn that which may be for truth's honour, their own good, and your comfort. Then will all you, who are concerned, get into your service without straitness; and so will be a help one unto another in your particular gifts, and the spring of life will be opened among you, and your meetings will be delightful unto you; and you in that will be a delight one to another: and then with one consent, in the pleasant unity you will do the Lord's work together, as his servants and hand-maids, and be a part of his pleasant heritage, which he hath chosen, and upon whom he rains down his blessings daily.

And so the God of peace and love fill your assemblies with his presence, life and love; that you may flourish as the plants of his right hand planting, and be faithful through your whole day, is the desire of my heart and soul, who remain your brother in the Lord Jesus Christ.

J. B.

London, 1680.

Dear Friends,

You whom the Lord hath visited and reached unto by his own holy arm of heavenly power, for that blessed end for which he hath visited many nations, and appeared unto many people, viz., that he might shew glory again unto mankind, which through sin they were fallen short of; that so in his visitation he might renew that heavenly image, whereby he might be glorified again among the sons of men; and now in this great day of visitation, which hath dawned upon the nations, you in these countries have been visited and reached unto, and graciously

saved and delivered from the snares of death, and opened unto the way of life ; so that you have both seen into that hidden glory, and tasted of, and been enjoyers of, the power of that life which hath no end. And now the care which always ought to dwell upon your hearts, is this, that you may keep in possession that which you have received ; that, as was said of old, None may take your crown from you, or none may fall short of that rest, which is prepared for the visited and redeemed of the Lord. The way you have known, God hath showed it unto you, and called you to walk therein ; and the mark you have seen, the Lord hath set that before you, that you might press towards it, as the ancient Christians did, for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. And now, dear Friends, that which I desire all may be concerned in, is, that there may be a pressing forward towards the mark, and a going on in this way, which the Lord hath cast up or revealed, and called you to walk in ; for it is he that travels on, that shall come to the blessed end, and obtain the crown of glory ; and not such as linger or sit down by the way, either to take up a rest, or look for another inheritance besides what God hath promised.—He that continues unto the end shall be saved ; and he that is faithful unto death, shall have the crown of life. Therefore, let a concern be always upon your minds in this weighty matter, that you may see how it is with you, and whether you are still in your journey upon your travel towards the mark for the prize : and as you must mind whether you are in your travel, pressing forwards or no ; even so you must mind also, that you press forwards towards the mark, or else you may come short of

the prize, the blessed inheritance; and so be such as James speaks of, that ask and receive not, because they ask amiss. For the heavenly wisdom is to be sought after and waited for, which comes down from above, and which teacheth and guideth in the heavenly way, the heavenly path of life and salvation, where every one's steps will be sure, and their goings will be established, and their understandings will grow. For the just man's path will be as the shining light, that shines more and more unto the perfect day: here none will be like those that beat the air, or run at an uncertainty; the apostle said, they were not such, yet there may be such, whose pains and travels may be great. Therefore, still I say, let your pressing be towards the mark, in the sense of the Lord's power, which is the true guide, and the true cross, which mortifies and crucifies the flesh with its affections and lusts, and keeps self down in the death, out of reputation, for there is none due unto it. For whosoever gives and seeks reputation to self, which ought to be made of no reputation, such can never rightly seek God's honour, nor work his work, nor obtain the right prize, nor attain the crown, but must fall short at last; for it is in him that crucifies self, and makes it of no reputation, that the election stands, and in whom the heirship is for ever. Therefore, dear Friends, wait to feel his power in your hearts, and diligently mind the blessed work thereof; that you may feel how it purgeth your consciences from dead works, and cleanseth your hearts from sin; for sin defileth the heart, so that it is not prepared for the Lord, he will not dwell therein. Therefore it must be washed, and dead works must be purged away; for no man can

serve the living God therein ; it must be the living works in the living power, wherein we can be accepted. And so let all mind the living power, which is the living guide, which doth guide in the living way, and keeps alive unto God ; and so you will all be kept a living people, and grow up in the living wisdom that is from above, which is inwardly taught by the living gift, that is received from the Father of lights, with whom there is no variableness, nor shadow of turning. And as you grow up in this wisdom, you will be constant ; there will be an establishing : and such will shew out of a good conversation their works, with meekness and wisdom. But sayeth the apostle, “ if there be bitterenvying, and strife in your hearts, glory not, and lie not against the truth : this wisdom descendeth not from above, but is earthly, sensual, and devilish : for where envying and strife is, there is confusion and every evil work. But the wisdom that is from above, is first pure, and then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated ; full of mercy and good fruits, &c. : and the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace ; ” so that you may see the fruits brought forth manifest the wisdom from whence it comes : the heavenly peaceable wisdom brings forth the peaceable fruits of righteousness, and is full of mercy, is gentle, and easy to be entreated, and full of good works ; but the earthly brings forth the contrary. Therefore, sayeth the apostle, if there be bitter envying and strife in your hearts, glory not, and lie not against the truth ; say not, thou art in the heavenly wisdom, while this lodgeth in thee ; for this wisdom descendeth not from above, but is earthly and sensual, and therefore can never establish, but brings confusion,

because he is the author of it, who can never work good.

Therefore dear Friends, let your hearts be always kept in subjection unto that power, which bridles your wills and crosses them, and keeps you lowly, humble and gentle, where the daily dying, which the Apostle was in, may be witnessed ; and so you will see the true pressing forward towards the mark, and the true growing into dominion over him that would hinder. And you know, that he, whom we ought to hear, saith, "Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart : " and so, as every one learns of him, and minds the leadings of his power, and the teachings of his Spirit of grace in their hearts, they will grow more and more like him, and come into his nature and healing spirit, and so in his grace and life be as healers and saviours : and therefore was it said by the Prophet, they should be as saviours upon Mount Zion. Now Friends, every one mind this saving, healing power in yourselves, and bow in your hearts unto it, and be still in your minds and calm ; and then you shall see how it will sweeten you, level your spirits, and bring down that which is high, and lofty, and hard ; and you shall see, how the mountains will melt at the presence of the Lord, at the presence of the God of Jacob ; and you shall see, how the winds and seas obey your Saviour, and into what calmness he will bring your spirits ; and then when all is still, your ear being opened, which is the first work of his word, you will be swift to hear, and hearing, your souls will live : and you will come down out of all the noises, floatings and swellings, into the calmness and stillness, where you will admire your Saviour, and say, what manner of man is this, that even the winds and

seas obey him? And you will see, that though Jordan overflow her banks, yet at the leadings on of our Joshua, and at the entrance of the feet of our High Priest, it must be driven back; that the ransomed of the Lord may pass over dry shod. Much of this nature may be read in spirit, as there is a hearkening and keeping low; but the forward, rash and hasty, are often tossed upon the waters, and are very uncertain in their ways and doings; and therefore do produce unto themselves much affliction of soul and spirit; for to them the promise doth not belong, where it is said, he will keep them in perfect peace, whose minds are stayed upon him, because they trusted in him.

Now Friends, methinks the way is plain; may every one be careful to attend upon the power and its openings, and give way thereunto, and be humble; for it is the humble he teacheth his ways, and the meek he will guide in judgment, and the willing and obedient he will feed; for the promise is, they shall eat of the good of the land. Therefore I do beseech all, be mindful, be you all careful, keep your hearts out of the world, and the drowning, surfeiting cares and pleasures of it, that you may neither be choked, nor surfeited with the excess thereof, nor be so led up into the worldly pleasures, and liberty out of the truth, which that draws into, as thereby and therein to forget the Lord, and to overlook your inward state. For if any so do, they lose the glory, the beauty, and the sweetness of their heavenly condition; and then they grow weary of the way of the Lord, and are ready to say, as some of old, what profit is there of serving of God, or in keeping of his ordinances? And therefore may the God of life stir you up, and awaken all unto watch-

fulness and diligence, that you may grow rich in the inward man, and be replenished with the virtues and graces of God; that you may be a fruitful people in those parts of the world, to the honour and glory of him who hath called and visited you; who is worthy of all glory and honour, praise and dominion for ever!

And dear Friends, my heart's love reacheth unto you all, who love and fear the Lord; and in the love of God I dearly salute you all, and send this as a testimony of that love, which still lives in my heart unto you, and therein I remain, your friend and brother,

J. B.

TO FRIENDS IN GLOUCESTER PRISON.

*From the Marshalsea in the City of Dublin,
the 25th of the 6th month, 1683.*

Dear Friends,

UNTO you, who are faithful sufferers in that city, with the rest of the faithful in that city and country, who in your hearts are given up to suffer for the holy name of the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour, who hath called and redeemed, chosen, and given you hearts not only to believe, but also to suffer for his name's sake, and thus hath counted you worthy as vessels of his choice; unto you all, I say, in the name and love of Christ Jesus our Lord, I send greeting, and with all the tender salutation of my soul and spirit, in that near affection and holy union, into which, by the power of the Holy Ghost

we have been gathered and united : so that as members of that one body, into which we have been baptised by that one Spirit, (wherein the true access unto God doth stand,) we have our fellowship together, and so drink together into that one Spirit, and are refreshed with the water that flows from the living rock, that followed Israel of old, who is the rock of our age, the stay of the generation of the righteous in this day, and that upon which we have our sure standing, so that we cannot easily be moved. Though the winds do blow, and the waters swell and toss, and the unestablished be driven to and fro, and be so afflicted in their spirits; yet this rock abides for a habitation and place of safety unto all those, who keep firm thereunto, and so do abide near in their spirits unto the holy power thereof; these find the living spring of that grace from the same in their souls, which the world cannot take away, whose treasure the thief cannot steal, nor the moth waste,—for it is heavenly, and is kept by a heavenly hand. And such who mind this, will be ready to offer up their earthly substance, and also themselves into His hand and will, out of which no man is able to pluck. And surely in this day, there is no true rest nor satisfaction to the souls or spirits of Friends, but as they get hither in the faith with their hearts and spirits: and when we are here spiritually, oh! this holy shield, how doth it defend! Oh! the holy rock, how do we sit under the shadow of it! Oh! the holy joy, that the dwellers upon this do feel in their spirits, though the tempest be great! Oh! the God of heaven keep us all in the holy sense of this, that our spirits may be borne up from sinking under our exercises in the trial; that so we may all glorify him in our day.

Dearly beloved, you tender suffering children, whose hearts are tender of God's glory, and therefore are willing to give up yourselves and your all for his name's sake, that you may be of that number who (following the Lamb whithersoever he goes, and not loving your lives unto death) may stand with him upon Mount Sion. My heart and soul is knit unto you, and you are near to me; and in the unity of the ancient life, I feel love abundantly to flow unto you, and indeed you have had a proof of the sincerity of my love of old unto you: and truly, you that stand in your innocent testimony, faithfully do engage my heart still more and more in love unto you. Oh! the tender meltings of my spirit in the sweetness of the love of God, in which I reach you, and rejoice with you in your joy, which all the wrath of man cannot put a stop unto. I know your hearts are at ease, and your spirits free, and the weights and burdens from off you who, are freely given up to suffer, though in these bonds outwardly: but there can be no such spiritual portion received by any that shrink from their testimony in this day of trial. For the word is true for ever, they that suffer with him, shall reign with him: he the Captain was made perfect through sufferings, and he must be followed by all that would come in the fulness to partake with him of his glory. And such who draw back, and would find a place of safety for themselves to escape their sufferings for their testimony, though they should fly to the uttermost parts of the earth, the Lord's hand will find them out; and there will not only be a holding back of the portion, but a spiritual pain will overtake, when the heart is tender; and because thereof, uneasy will every one's place be unto their spirits.

And therefore, my dear Friends, keep in the faith and word that justifies, and then will you reign in the seed that is heir for ever : wherein you will overcome, and inherit, and be conquerors, and so triumph with the Lamb that must have the victory ; before whose feet the crowns of all the mighty must be laid down ; unto whom the kings of the earth, and all flesh must bow. In him we trust, his heavenly kingdom we wait for and pray for the coming of : that even such as are our enemies, by the power thereof may be converted unto God, and so have an inheritance with us in that kingdom, which hath no end : that so mankind might rest together in that hope, which makes not ashamed, and where the love of God is shed abroad in the heart by his Spirit. Thus God is filling the hearts of his children with good-will towards all ; the Lord keep us therein for ever !

Dear Friends, by this know that I am well, and am now come to have a share with you of the sufferings that attend for the gospel's sake : I have been three weeks a prisoner here in the Marshalsea of Dublin. So in the true fellowship of the gospel am a partaker with you, both of the sufferings and consolation that attend us for the testimony thereof. I remain, your brother,

J. B.

Dublin, the 12th of Eighth month, 1685.

Dear Friends,

IN the universal Spirit of life and truth, and of righteousness and peace, doth the tender affection

and pure love of my heart flow forth and reach unto you all, who are true lovers of the power and the holiness of the same; wherein alone it is, that we bear the image of Him, whose name is holiness, and his nature and being is purity; in that only we do draw and may draw near unto him, and have fellowship with him, and enjoy his presence, who is our God, our life and salvation. In the unity of that whereby we have been quickened, and through which we live unto him that hath quickened us, do I exhort and beseech you all, to mind with reverence his secret and sweet visitations by his holy power upon your spirits, which you feel to appear there, and through the brightness of its appearing to destroy him, whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power, &c., and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; and not only to appear and destroy him and his works, but also to abide with you, and dwell in you, and so to make you his dwelling-place. And then you being watchful, shall not watch in vain, because the Lord then will be your keeper; and then, as one said of old, He keeping the city, the watchman watcheth not in vain.—Therefore, Friends, see that you all be mindful of him in his appearing by his power and Spirit of grace in your hearts, and let him have room there, and not be straitened, or thronged up or oppressed: for he delights to dwell alone there, and have the whole heart to himself, and at his own disposing; that he may fill it with that which he takes pleasure in, and in which he only may be glorified and honoured: and therefore doth he require the heart, saying, “My son, give me thy heart;” and Christ commands, that we should love him with all our hearts, &c. So

as I said, let him have room in your hearts; and take heed, that, with this world, the spirit of it, the nature of it, and the love to the things therein, your hearts be not filled, and so taken up, that there be not room for him, whose coming is with such glory and fulness, that he fills all who are rightly poor and empty, with that fulness, richness and glory: so that there can be no want to them, who have him for their portion and inheritance, and keep single in their hearts before him. But where the heart is filled with delight in, or desire after, other things out of the covenant of God, (which is out of his favour,) there the Lord will not have delight to dwell, there is not room.—

So dear Friends, the thing that is chiefly in my mind unto you is, to entreat and beseech you all, to be tender in your hearts, and careful over your spirits, that you may not let in, nor join with anything, that will bring grief or oppression upon your life, or lead you into the transgression of the law thereof. Mind the exhortation of the apostle, Grieve not the Holy Spirit by which you are sealed, &c. And so as you are careful, watchful and wise to take heed unto the holy conduct and blessed leadings and direction of this Spirit and the law thereof, your souls will dwell in peace, and your feet will tread in a safe path, even the path of peace, and your steps will not slide; but you will witness to be true what David said of old, “the righteous shall inherit the land, and dwell therein for ever;” for, saith he, “the mouth of the righteous speaketh wisdom, and his tongue talketh of judgment. The law of his God is in his heart, none of his steps shall slide.” So here you see, what it is that keeps from sliding, the law of God which is in the heart;

this preserved David, for it was as a lamp to his feet, and a light unto his path.

Oh! my dear Friends, you may be happy; yea, we may all be happy, if we be as careful as we ought, to walk by this rule. Oh! the sweetness, peace and glory, with which He fills the hearts of all his people, who take heed unto his law: the Spirit is not grieved, the life of the soul is not oppressed, the soul, life, or spirit of man is at ease, and so is in the glorious liberty of the sons of God, and is in that state, where it can sing unto the Lord, and praise him. Therefore, all of you mind your dwelling, and inward liberty, and spiritual freedom from all the corruptions of the world and of the flesh, both inwardly in yourselves, and all temptations from without; that you may reign in the dominion of the seed Christ Jesus for ever, and so with him be co-heirs of that heavenly inheritance and possession, which he hath purchased for you.

Thus, in the unity of that life, which reigns over all, do I very dearly salute you all, who love the truth; and in that do I desire, that the God of life may bear up your spirits by his power, over all that would defile or oppress; that you may be preserved to remain the sons and daughters of God, without rebuke in and among this crooked and perverse generation, amongst whom may you shine as lights, to the glory of Him, who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light; who over all is worthy of glory and honour and dominion, world without end!

From your friend and brother in the truth,

J. B.

BRIEF MEMOIR
OF
THE LIFE
OF
JOHN CROKER,

WHO WAS BORN AT PLYMOUTH,

IN 1673.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED.

“The Lord is with you, while ye be with Him; and if ye seek Him,
he will be found of you.”—2 *Chron.* xv. 2.

LONDON:

1839.

BRIEF MEMOIR
OF THE
LIFE OF JOHN CROKER.

I WAS born on the eighth of the Twelfth month, in the year 1673, in the town of Plymouth, in the county of Devon : my father was of the family of the Crokers of Lyneham, being by birth one called a gentleman ; and he married Anstice, the daughter of Nicholas Tripe, a shopkeeper at Kingsbridge, in that county. They were both early convinced of the blessed Truth, and stood boldly for it in the time of persecution, many times to the loss of their goods and imprisonment of their bodies, which they bore with patience, accounting it as nothing, in comparison with the blessed truth, which God had revealed and made them sharers of.

Although I was then but young, yet I can remember their love and zeal for the way of truth professed by them : notwithstanding great was the rage of men against the professors of the light, which had discovered many of the dark ways of the professors of that time. My father and mother, with others, would not neglect the assembling of themselves together for Divine worship, but frequently met together, and took their children with them ; and

sometimes they met in the open streets, because they were forcibly kept out of their meeting-house. Thus they were made a gazingstock, and were mocked at by men of corrupt minds, who often ill-treated them, by pulling them down from their seats, and haling them before magistrates ; who again often separated husband from wife, and parents from their children. This was the lot of my father, who was kept a prisoner sometime at Exeter, forty-four miles from home, and my mother was at the same time a prisoner in the Bridewell at Plymouth. In all these trials I never heard or saw them uneasy ; but they often encouraged their children to be sober and good, that they might come to be the servants of God, and to stand in *their* places, when they might be called hence ; believing, however it might fare with them as to these outward things, that God would be a portion to their children, as they kept in his fear, and the lot of their inheritance, if they proved faithful ; which would be the best of riches and the best of ornaments, far exceeding gold or silver, or any of the soft and shining raiments, which they themselves had found a concern, in a great degree, to forsake and deny ; accounting all things as nothing, that they might win Christ, for whose sake they were made willing to be as the off-scouring of many people. They would not allow in us their children, that which they found Truth called them out of ; but still showed us an example of self-denial, and constrained us, as much as in them lay, to refrain from all things that were not of a good savour, or seemed anything like to the going back again into the rudiments of the world, or into that which they were brought to deny themselves of for Christ's sake.

Nevertheless, when I was young I found there was an evil thing, stubbornness or rebellion, which grew in me ; so that I often kicked at the reproofs of my parents, and slighted their tender counsel, and vainly spent my childish days to their, and since to my own, grief and sorrow ; so that when they had brought me up to about twelve years of age, and educated me with some learning, as reading, writing, and arithmetic, and were earnest I should learn Latin, I was stubborn, and would not learn it.

In the year 1686, some Friends of Plymouth being about to remove to Pennsylvania, and I being willing to go with them, my father and mother concluded to bind me apprentice to a Friend, one John Shilson, by trade a serge maker, but who also professed surgery ; with whom I went to be instructed in the art of surgery. They had a good end in it ; for I was sensible my mother was greatly exercised for my preservation, and that I might be brought to a sense of the power of God, to work me into a new lump ; and by separating me from them and from my companions, I might be brought to a thoughtfulness how I had behaved myself towards them, and to a remembrance of my Creator in the days of my youth, before the strength of evil days came on. And truly this separation, and what I met with before I returned again, had a good effect upon me, as may be seen hereafter.

My parents' care for me was so great, that they sent in the same vessel with me a considerable parcel of goods, and appointed two Friends my overseers, who had the care of disposing of the said goods and the care of me, if anything might happen which should call for assistance, that I might not suffer too much the want of the things of this life ;

which proved very helpful. For soon after I came to Pennsylvania, my master put me with the rest of the servants into the woods, in order to clear land for a plantation; where I was made to work hard like the rest, for the space of about one year; in which time I often thought of my parents, and of their former care and advices, also of my stubborn rebellious behaviour towards them; which made me often say, 'Lord forgive me, and look down in mercy upon me.' Thus I mourned many times;—yet I soon got over it, and at times grew wanton and foolish with the rest of my fellows, and got over the reproofs of instruction, that were at work in my heart, which reproofs and chastisement I was not willing to bear: but the Lord intended good to me, and did not leave striving (at times) in my soul; and troubles outwardly followed one another, as the Lord saw good, for ends best known to himself. He soon took my master and mistress, their daughter and maid-servant out of the world, by the distemper of the country, which was then prevalent: then all our affairs in the country were shut up, and I was destitute as well as others of the servants, some of whom soon went off.

I still remained in the country with one young man: we were like two pilgrims walking up and down the woods, making use of such provisions as were left in the house, and what we gathered in the woods; which being a solitary life, various considerations of different matters came before my mind, concerning time and things past and present, and how the Lord had hitherto preserved me by sea and land; and that I was not swallowed up by the one, neither was I taken away by the distemper that reigned on the other,—being fearful of the latter,

which was very mortal, having never had the seasoning of the country ; but blessed be God I was never sick there. As the sense of these things grew on me, love to God increased in my bosom ; and this drew me into tears and solitary sittings with my Bible in my hand, reading oftener than I commonly used to do,—desiring the Lord to open my understanding in what I read, and to show me my duty, for I was willing to serve him ; and that he would be pleased to open a way for my return to my father's house, for now I was free from my apprenticeship by the death of my master ;—then would I serve him, and then would I be obedient to my tender parents, and walk in awfulness before the Lord the remaining time I had to spend ;—with some such breathings as honest Jacob had, when he said to this effect—If God will be with me in the way that I go, so that I come again in peace to my father's house, then shall the Lord be my God, and I will serve him.

Now although I did not suffer want as to food, not having spent what was left by the deceased, yet being fifteen miles from Philadelphia, those Friends to whom my father had committed the care of me in case I should meet with any adversity, consulted each other what to do with me, until they could hear from my father, which they endeavoured to do, with what speed they could ; and in the mean time, one of them (James Fox) took me to his house, where I remained a little while doing such small business as I was set about, being still in the country about the same distance as before. At length they got me into the city, and put me to school to George Keith, who was then in esteem among Friends : but growing high and conceited in his arts and parts afterwards, he became troublesome

to Friends and himself; so that at length for the clearing of truth, they were forced to deny him, and he became disesteemed, like unsavoury salt, as it were trodden under feet of men. Before they (the two Friends) heard from my father, I began to take liberty, and forsook my very frequent retirements, wherein I had been often tendered and broken before the Lord; and thus I became indifferent, and came to a loss as to my inward state and condition. But God having many ways of visiting his people, in order to bring them to a sense of their states, yet found me out, and another sore trial I had to pass through, whereby I might see the Lord could and would do, as seemeth good in his sight; and that those who will not bow in mercy, he will make to bow in judgment, and they shall see the goodness of God in and through all;—which was my lot: indeed the great goodness of God to me, I hope I shall never forget.

After a while I heard from my father, who was desirous of my return; and in order thereunto my friends made preparations, and got me a passage in a vessel to Newcastle upon Tyne, in England; in which vessel they put some effects, which might be for my accommodation when I came to England, as well as to carry me to my father, who lived some hundreds of miles distance from Newcastle: and some other effects were put on board another vessel, which sunk in the sea, but being in company with other ships, the crew were saved by boat. So after after having been four years in the province of Pennsylvania, I embarked for England, having taken leave of my friends in Pennsylvania, with hopes I should now see my native land, and my dear parents and relations.

Notwithstanding our vessel was alone, and it was war time, we were in hopes that the Lord would carry us safe: we were preserved on the boisterous seas, until, according to the opinion of the sailors, we were within one hundred leagues of England, when we met with three ships. The master of our vessel (who was a Friend) was willing to speak with those vessels, to know what news in England, though persuaded to the contrary by his mate, who feared what they might be; but to our great trouble and sorrow, they proved to be three French privateers, who soon bid us strike; and presently they hoisted out their boats, and came and stripped us almost naked, and dispersed us, some on board one ship, and some on board another, and afterwards they separated themselves; for one of those ships went for France with our vessel, and the other two were parted in a mist, so that they could not see each other, nor come together again. This fresh exercise brought more than a common fear upon me, (I being in one of those ships that remained at sea,) fearing how I should be dealt with, and what sufferings I should undergo. I was, in respect of clothes, almost naked, and destitute of relief, beyond what our enemies would be pleased to bestow; whose hearts God so far opened towards us, that we did not want for bread or water, and sometimes were allowed pork, beef, peas, and beverage, and at certain times a draught of sour wine; yet still I was in fear, not knowing whither we should be carried.

The ship in which we were, being a privateer of twenty-six guns, and out at sea on that account, she sailed far northward, until we fell in amongst islands of ice, and were forced to lie by in the

night, for fear we should run amongst some of these islands, or great rocks of ice. For about six weeks I took my rest on the boards in the ship's hold, in which time they chased one vessel, which, when they came near to her, was thought to be too mighty for them, and the ship wherein we were being the better sailer, they let the said vessel pass without examining what she was; but soon after they took a Dutch ship bound for Newfoundland, which had little on board, only ballast and a few cheeses; which vessel and men they rifled, and took the vessel with them to Newfoundland; and as we drew near it, they put us on shore upon a small island or rock, (which lay between some other islands,) upon which there was no house, nor any fresh water or shelter. Being twenty-eight of us in number, they gave us a sail and some oars and poles, to make a tent; in which we all lay without any beds, having only some straw, which they brought us, and stones for our pillows, with which we were forced to be contented: yet I found God's providence was over me, so that I was preserved healthy and sound. Oh! the great goodness of God is fresh in my mind, now at the time of my writing this, and I hope the impression of it will remain as long as I live; so that I may never forget what I met with in my youth, and how the Lord preserved me through it all.

The French used once or twice a week to visit us, and bring us some spruce beer, water, pork, peas, and plenty of bread; of the bread we eat sparingly, laying up some in store against a time of scarcity, fearing such might come; the bread we hid in some of the hollow rocks, that it might not hinder or stop them from bringing or supplying us.

with more as usual. There were also about our rock, or little island, plenty of lobsters, of which we caught some, and boiled, and ate, which were a great help to us; and although we were not in any great want considering our circumstances, yet we were but thinly clothed, and the season not very hot;—I having left me only one shirt, one pair of breeches, and a hat; until some taking compassion on me, gave me a thin linsey-woolsey frock, one old shirt, and an old pair of stockings and shoes, for which I was very thankful.

In this mean condition, I with the rest continued on this island about six weeks, in which time we contrived our escape. There was an island at about half a mile distance from us, which was inhabited by the French for the fishing, whose boats went to and fro by us almost every day; and there were also on our island, some pieces of boards and wood, which had been used, I suppose, by the Frenchmen, at times when they dried fish there, and were by them left; their boats were also lying at a wharf on the said inhabited island, but guarded, as we afterwards understood, though then unknown to us. We one day took particular notice of one of their boats, which, with several others, lay near the said wharf; and our men proposed in the night by a float, to endeavour to swim out and get the said boat. We, therefore, made a raft, by tying together with rope-yarn such wood and boards as we found on the island, and two of our men, notwithstanding several privateers were lying by us as a guard, were so courageous, that they adventured in the night to stand on this raft we had made, and put off towards the boat which we had observed. Having got to her, they found nobody in her, and the watch or guard

being in their huts very busy in discourse, those two men cut the moorings of the boat, and let her fall off with the tide which was going out, and brought the boat towards us; by their help, we attained the same, which made us rejoice.

There happened (far beyond expectation) to be in the boat, oars, sails, a compass, some pork and butter, a tinder box and candle, with materials for striking fire; also some of the Frenchmen's jerkins, made of lamb skins, with the wool inward, and a pottage pot, an axe, and some fishing lines; all which were very needful and serviceable to us, and gave us cause of admiration, as if Divine Providence had worked for our deliverance. We soon got what we had into the boat, having in six weeks time saved about two hundred weight of bread, which was now of great service; and such of us as were willing, being in number twenty-five, got into the boat, leaving seven, who were of fearful hearts, behind us,—our number having been increased since our being put ashore on the island, they having added more to us. And we the said twenty-five, trusting ourselves to Divine Providence, put off for the main ocean, amidst the mighty waves of a troublesome sea, not without divers fears lest we should be taken again by our enemies, or swallowed up by the great waters, the waves of which grew very high and dreadful: for although it did not rain, yet we could not keep ourselves dry, because the sea broke and ran so high over our boat, that some of us were forced with our hats to be often casting the water out, while others managed her by rowing and sailing. After being three nights and two days in this open boat, through the good hand of Providence, we arrived at the wilderness part of Newfound-

land, (where were no inhabitants,) being almost wearied out; but before we went on shore we cast our hook and line, and it proved to be on the right side of our boat, for we soon caught some famous cod fish, which we carried ashore, and making a fire dressed them, and there we satisfied our hunger. We then made a great fire on the beach, and laid ourselves down to rest; and for my part, I think I may say, I never slept more sweetly in a bed, than I did on those stones, notwithstanding the impression of them remained in my sides for some time afterwards. I cannot forget to bless God for this deliverance, and to admire his wonderful providence, who had preserved us, and given me strength and health to undergo such hardships,—who, when with my parents, had been brought up in the full plenty of all things needful.

‘O! Lord, keep me in the remembrance of these things, that I may ever trust in thee.’ This I believe was a day of tender love to my soul, whereby I was to be humbled, and brought to a sense of my former misspent time; that I might no more seek my own ways, but give up in obedience to the leadings of God’s holy Spirit, which leads out of the broad way into the narrow way of life and peace; and this sweetens all afflictions, and leads to glorify the name of the Lord, who is worthy for ever.

In the morning we got into our boat again, and committed ourselves for direction to George Stidson, who was mate of our former ship, and had formerly been in these parts, and knew most of the places of fishery in Newfoundland. About the middle of the day we came to the entrance of a small fishing place, I think called Renuse. It being war time, the inhabitants, (who were but few,)

were greatly surprised by reason of our number, fearing we were come to rob them; and with what men and arms they had, they appeared very furiously against us, to oppose our landing; so that we were afraid they would without mercy have fired on us and taken away our lives, before they knew what we were. At length, with signs and loud words, to let them know what we were, we stopped their intention; and they sent a single man to us in a small boat, who, finding we were all English, and had no arms, but were poor, ragged, and distressed men, they invited us kindly ashore, by the name of brothers! This I looked on as a fresh deliverance from the point of death; for if they had fired on us, no doubt but some of us had been killed. When we came on shore, they treated us with a good fire, spruce beer, and broiled fish; this was grateful to our hungry stomachs and weary bodies, and the best return we had to make them for the favours we received, was our thankful acknowledgments, and to give them an account of what we had met with; which so far opened their hearts, that they desired our stay awhile with them. The spruce beer is what they make in those countries from the spruce tree.

We stayed with them two or three days, and then with returns of thanks took our leave of them, and went into our boat again, intending to keep along near the shore, until we came to some place where we might meet with shipping. So like wayfaring men we called at a place or two, and tarried a night; when the people hearing of us before we came, entertained us cheerfully, for which we were thankful. At length we came to a cove, called Todes Cove, where they had not heard of us before, and our

coming surprised them, that they repaired to their arms ; but they became soon sensible what we were, and let us come on shore. There was but one dwelling at that place, the master's name, as I remember, was Dier ; he had many servants, and cured much fish : he entertained us with much civility, and we stayed and helped him about his fish several days. Here our mate (the chief amongst us) fell dangerously ill, which proved an exercise to us all, and to me in particular, for I had a kindness for him, he being always civil to me, both before we were taken by the French, and after, during the time we were together : so we took the best care of him we could, and wrapping him very warm, laid him on a hand-barrow, and carried him to the boat ; and taking leave of our noble landlord, we made what haste we could to the Bay of Bulls, where he had an aunt, to whose care we left him, and hastened to a place called St. Johns, (where we understood lay a fleet of ships,) hoping to meet with a passage for England : but when we came there we found they were bound to Cadiz and Bilboa.

Now my sorrow began afresh, and as great as ever ; for I not being a sailor, and but about seventeen years of age, not any of the ships would admit me as a passenger, fearing they should not be paid for my passage ; and a sailor they did not look upon me to be. My fellow-prisoners and companions dispersed themselves, some in one ship and some in another, and disposing of the boat and materials, turned all to their own use, leaving me destitute of friends, relations, acquaintances, and money, in a strange country,—having nothing wherewith to make friends, unless the Lord was pleased to raise

some up for me. To Him, therefore, I made my complaint in secret: and I was willing to be as contented as I could, taking my walks amongst the inhabitants, who were generally kind, and gave me at their houses bread and fish, when I looked for it. When night came I lodged in an open boat, or in a hay-loft, such as I could most conveniently meet with. I was but very thinly clothed, and dirty for want of change: and the cold winter was coming on, which is grievously hard in those countries: the ships were hastening away for fear of the frost, and no more were expected that season:—all these circumstances increased my sorrow, and my near approaches to God in these great straits,—that he would be pleased to spare me, and work a way for my deliverance out of that country; and I would serve him according to the abilities of strength and wisdom, which he might in his love be pleased to bestow on me: at which times I brought myself under promises, which I desire, at the writing of this, the Lord would please to bring to my remembrance,—that if I have not performed them, I may strive with all diligence to the performance of them; for he is good and worthy to be served by all who have received the least of his mercies and favours. —‘ Lord, humble the hearts of the people;—bring them to see their own outgoings, and what any of us are without thee, who art the alone help of thy people;—when all men forsake them, thou hast worked a way for them unthought of, as thou didst for the least of many thousands.’

Before the fleet sailed, I heard that there was one vessel that was bound for Bristol, with train oil and fish, one Barrister being owner or master: to him I made my application, laying before him

my distressed condition, which I believe he was not insensible of; but, like one of a hard heart, he would not admit me a passage in his vessel, unless I paid him three pounds before I went, which I could not do, being not worth threefarthings. This made me mourn to see him so hard, and with a heavy heart I went on shore; but still being earnest to try him the second time, I entreated him again for a passage, desiring him to consider my condition, and that he was sensible I had not then wherewith to pay him, but he should be faithfully paid when I came to England; all which seemingly made no impression on him; so that my countenance began to show the sorrow of my heart, and tears began to fall from my heavy eyes; and I passed from his presence without any hope. But in an unexpected manner the Lord was pleased to order it thus:—there was a merchant on board with this Barrister, who, perceiving the sorrowfulness of my countenance, came after me with compassion, as one sensible of my grief, and desired to know my name and the place of my birth, which I readily told him; he then inquired my father's name and trade, and in what part of the town of Plymouth he lived, which I told him likewise. It so struck him, that he said, 'what, are you his son?—how came you in this condition? I am sorry to see you thus; for I know him,' (meaning my father.) 'Well, I would not have you trouble yourself, for you shall go for England, if I pay your passage; and my wife (said he,) is going in the same vessel, and whatever you want, apply to her, and she shall assist you.'

This sudden alteration brought renewed thankfulness upon my heart to God, the author of all

these favours and deliverances, that in such an unthought of way, when my expectations were laid aside, He should raise up a friend to make way for my returning to England. I have cause to remember these things; although I had another sharp season to pass through, before I set my feet in my native land, which was then hid from me, but was after the following manner :—After this my great friend, (whose name was Strong, a brother to one of the same name, a schoolmaster in Plymouth,) had made way for me, by promising payment for my passage, and I was got on board the ship; the master being a wicked base fellow, after we were out at sea, would not let me have a cabin, but I was forced to lie between two hogsheads of train oil. This was hard lodging,—yet necessity obliged me to be as contented as I could; and I can truly say, my lot was often made sweet to me; for the thoughts and meditations of my heart were very often upon the law of my God, and I had comfort and delighted myself therein. Yet having nothing but my wearing clothes day or night to keep me warm, which had not been washed or changed for two months; I need not relate how it was with me. But not to leave the reader without some charity towards the master, I may let him know that he afterwards dealt with me somewhat more favourably; for having lodged some nights in this condition, he gave me an old sail, to lay under me, or partly over me as I pleased; for which I was thankful to God, being a favour I wanted, and also thankful to the master for showing some good nature.

The sense of what I had met with, and the goodness of God which I had experienced in it, with the consideration of my former transgressions, drew me

into tenderness of heart and brokenness of spirit, so that my very head and hair would be wet with tears; and the Lord was often near unto me in his goodness. Oh! that I may never forget that day!—but that it may be imprinted upon my mind, and engraven on my heart, as with a point of a diamond, that I may always have it in my view; that when I may meet with afflictions in my older years, I may look back to the days of my youth, like Job, —who desired it might be with him as in the days of his youth, when the secret of God was upon his tabernacle, and in whose light he walked through darkness; which dark ways the Lord hath in some measure now given me to see, by the lifting up the light of his countenance upon me. For I am not able to express the seasons that I had upon the mighty waters during that great affliction,—which makes me say, it was good for me that I was afflicted, or else I had gone astray; for now I know of thy judgment, O Lord,—and I can praise thee for thy manifold mercies, which are lengthened out beyond my deserts: and what shall I render to thee, O Lord, for them all, but holy praises and high renown for ever!

Now to proceed, after about ten or twelve days sail, having had pretty good weather and wind most of the time, we unexpectedly in the night, fell in with the Land's End of Cornwall, on the north side of it; the wind increasing blew us in very near land, which put the seamen in a fright, believing they should all be drowned, and the vessel wrecked; for the wind rent our mainsail in pieces, which occasioned a great outcry and trouble to get another to the yard. During this I lay still, believing it not fit for me to appear amongst them at that time, their fury being

great towards each other : so I lay as much retired as I could, with my mind freely given up to death, if the Lord did so please ; at which time I thought I enjoyed abundance of sweetness in my heart, and the thought of death was nothing, the sting being taken away. I heard the master say, there was not a soul likely to be saved, and that he and another would get into the long boat, and the rest should shift for themselves ;—this he said several times. But it pleased God, who commandeth both wind and sea, and sayeth—“ thus far and no farther shalt thou come,” that the wind began to turn easterly ; so that with some nicety as well as Providence, (day coming on,) we weathered the Land’s End. Now there being some hopes, I was willing to see what danger we had been in, therefore I got upon the deck, and I think, had I thrown a stone, I might have struck the rock ;—this I accounted another great deliverance.

The wind still continuing high, we came up the South Channel before Plymouth, my native town, as far as Dartmouth in Devon, and we ran in there. The wind being very strong, before we could come to an anchor, our foreyard arm broke, and we went a-head of all the ships which were then in that road. At length we dropped our anchor, but it did not hold, so that we drove until we were astern of all those ships, and no boats were able to come and help us, so that some cried out we must go ; but at last the anchor held, and we weathered it that night, and the next morning the wind ceased, so that the boats came to us, and helped us in, where we lay safe, and seemed to be out of danger of the sea, and of the privateers which were on it. Thus I was likely to put my feet again on English

ground, and but about thirty miles from my father's house. Before this, my father had heard of my being taken, but could not understand where I was, and had sent several letters to France, and supplies were ordered for me there, but he could not hear of me; so he concluded I was not in the land of the living. This was cause of sorrow to my parents to think, if they had not sent me away, I might have been living; but, however, it all worked together for my good, and I believe God had a hand in it.

Now, being come ashore, and having escaped from being imprest by reason of my being but a youth (for most of the men were imprest into the King's service, to help to man out the fleet, which lay then at Plymouth,) the master took me to one Lane, a merchant, at Dartmouth, to whom I gave a bill on my father for my passage. As soon as the merchant understood on whom I could draw the bill, he began to look at me, and compassion was opened in him towards me; and he offered me what money I would have, being sorry to see me in such a condition, for he said he knew my father well. So I took some money of him, and some of another man, who was going with me to Plymouth; at which place I now, indeed, longed to be, having called to mind my father's house, like a prodigal son now returning thither. Therefore, after I had bought a few things to shift me, which I soon did to my great refreshment, I, in company with the seamen that were imprest, set out and went for Plymouth, and unexpectedly came to my father's door; where I found my dear mother first, to whom there was not a quick discovery; but after some discourse, I made myself known to her, who with open arms received me, being as one that had been

dead and was now alive again, and hoping this trial would work for my future good. This I am sensible it did;—for it so humbled me, that I was often thinking on what I had met with, and how the Lord had preserved me, which made me very humble and low in my mind, taking heed to the commands of my parents; and I feared to rebel against them, and minded what company I kept, being now willing to be as good as I could.

I spent some time in reading alone, and frequented meetings both abroad and at home, sometimes going ten miles to a meeting and home again at night on foot, with much satisfaction.

My careful parents, who now began to take some comfort in me, being willing I should learn some trade, which I was myself free to do, gave me liberty to choose my trade, and in what city or town I pleased; and in order thereunto, my father put some money into my hand, and bid me try, by looking amongst tradesmen. So I rode to Exeter, and intended, if I could not please myself there, to go for London, it being about the time of the Yearly Meeting, and I between seventeen and eighteen years of age, as I suppose. When I came to Exeter, I thought a fuller or tucker was a good trade; so with the assistance of a Friend, I agreed with one who was of that business, and was accounted a civil man, but not one called a Quaker. He traded mostly to Holland; I was to serve him six years, and he was to have thirty pounds paid him at the time of sealing my indentures; and eighty pounds if he sent me to Holland the two last years. My father seemed to be pleased with it, and I went forward with my apprenticeship. But, alas! I found myself exposed to many temptations; for my master proved to be

an ill-company keeper, and a night playing man ; which caused me often to walk the streets in the night, to search the taverns and alehouses for him, or else I had no peace at home with my mistress. Sometimes he would come home with me pretty contentedly, and at other times would be in a passion, and sometimes keep me up with him all night, several times tempting me to play, offering to lay wagers on me, that I would worst the company at cards,—which I dared not meddle with, but always put him off with desires to go home, and urging that my mistress waited up for him. Sometimes I prevailed with him, and sometimes not ; so that I have been forced to sleep in the chimney-corner, and in the morning to take a nap and rise up to work. I am no way accused in myself, that I ever spent any idle time in his service : but I was as diligent as I could be, to serve both of them ; and being conscientious, I believed I ought to serve them to the utmost I could, in what was lawful and not burthensome to my conscience.

My master, following this course of life, was, in about two years after I came to him, forced to put himself into the Mint, (a prison so called ;) and what he had left was seized, and the very goods of his house were carried away ; so that his wife and children were forced to retire to her father's, and myself to seek fresh business, or another master. This brought fresh care upon me, for I was willing to attain to a business if it could be ; but being a Quaker, few would be concerned with me : so I worked as a journeyman, and lodged at a Friend's house, boarding myself. At length, finding my stay was not likely to avail me much, I concluded to return to my father who readily

received me, and I set myself at work in my elder brother's trade, being a serge weaver ; and to combing of wool I went, and earned six or seven shillings a week by my work, which brought me in money for a time. It was not long before my father bought an estate in the county of Cornwall ; he was a tobacconist, and it being war time he laid down all business, and retired into the country, and lived in a house with my elder sister, who was married to Francis Fox, a shopkeeper at Germain's, where my father and mother remained until their death, and then my eldest brother went thither.

My father having left me a room at Plymouth, I continued there and lived retired, doing little for a livelihood in the world, spending most of my time in reading, and did some small matter in purse making, which I generally gave away. My desires often were to the Lord, that he would be pleased to open a way of some business for me, that I might be taken off from such inconvenience as did sometimes attend by reason of idleness, which often brought sorrow in calling over the actions of the day. For setting them in order before the judge of my conscience, those things which were done amiss brought trouble, which caused sorrow and tears, as well as prayers that the Lord would pass them by, and open of his wisdom more and more in my heart, and that I might not act contrary to his mind. For those, which some call small things, and not worth minding, caused me sore exercise, so that I found a daily cross was to be kept to, in the management of words and conversation in this world ; or else a good state might be soon lost, which I was under the fear of : and I found, when I had considered of those things

which I had done, spoke, or acted in the fear of God, it always brought peace; and I took my rest with true content in the will of God, however he might be pleased to deal with me in the night season. The Lord preserve my dear children in this state, where they may often inquire within themselves, (for whose sake I am willing to leave these things,) and that they may learn obedience, and serve the God of their father, who wonderfully preserved him by sea and land, and brought him through many perils and straits of various kinds; for which I have reason to bless God, to whom be glory given for evermore!

Soon after this period, (viz. about the year 1695,) the Lord was pleased to deprive me of my dear and honourable mother, who was in her day a noble woman for Truth, and who retained her integrity to God, and love to Friends to the end: I doubt not but she resteth in peace with the Lord. This was a trying time to me, and it made an impression on my very countenance. I then retired into the country to my father, who was soon after brought to his bed by reason of a sore distemper in his feet. So I waited on him, and to keep myself from idleness and get a little money, I put forward some small business, which was spinning of tobacco, my father's former occupation.

My dear mother had always been a great help to me in my spiritual exercises, being sensible there was something at work in my heart which wanted to be perfected; and she would be very tender, and help me what she could. I had not courage to make my mind known to any after her decease, although my heart was many times loaded more heavily than I could bear, not knowing the reason of it; but in private places I sought relief by tears

and prayers, which no mortal besides myself did know of, unless it was by the alteration in my countenance and deportment, which might visibly appear : although I always behaved as cheerfully when in company as I could ; but I am persuaded my dear mother had some sense of it, and that her prayers were heard on my behalf.

I now began to think of a settled life, and I had cast my eye on a virtuous young woman, the daughter of John and Margery Peters, of Minver, in the county of Cornwall. I was not hasty in proceeding, but well considered it, and laid the thing before the Lord in my heart, desiring, that if it were not the Lord's pleasure it should be so, he would remove it out of my mind, or else that he would increase my love towards her, which I found still continued with me. But when I was retired before the Lord I could think of her with abundance of sweetness, although I had not seen her for sometime, nor ever (that I remember) had been in her company above twice, she living at about twenty-six miles distance from me, and I had not been more than once at their house, although often invited by her parents.

While I was thus impressed, and none knew it but myself and Him that knows the secrets of all hearts, I heard there was one of greater worth in the world than myself, endeavouring to gain her affections. Then I thought, if she did not answer him, after it was at an end, I would make known my feelings. Sometime after I heard the other was put by, I then made my mind known to my father, and desired his thoughts : to which he did not seem very inclinable, saying, he did not know ; ' but,' said he, ' I love her parents, and would not have thee to be too hasty.' So I waited sometime longer, and

then spoke to my father again, who said, if I could not be easy without it, I might go and see her, which I thought was sufficient. I therefore set forward; and when I came there, I opened my mind to her father and mother, who wanted to know if I had my father's consent in this matter. I told them I had, and that without their leave, I should not mention anything to their daughter, whom I truly loved; so if they thought proper, I would leave the consideration of it with them and go home, or by their leave, I would mention the same to my dear friend, their daughter. On this they were silent for a time, so I took the opportunity of walking in the fields a little while, and then came in and spent the evening in conversation with the father, mother, and daughter. Next day I had the liberty to make known my mind to my dear friend Anne. So having an opportunity after some little time, I let her know what had been in my mind, desiring her to take it into consideration; to which she said it was of great moment, and there was need of time, for she desired not to enter into any such engagements until she was well satisfied: so I went home to my father, and acquainted him how things were, and he hoped it would be well.

Now being come to the twenty-second year of my age, having in my time passed through various states, especially straits and great disappointments, and being about to enter into the state of marriage, I proposed to myself some comfort, believing I was going to be joined to a true help-mate, as well in relation to spiritual as temporal things, and that the Lord would favour us with his goodness and blessing together in this world. So in seasonable time we accomplished our intentions of marriage, to the

good liking and well wishes of our relations and friends, being satisfied the Lord sanctioned our affections, and that by his Spirit we were united.*

* Respecting John Peters, the young woman's father, the following particulars, by way of testimony, are given by Thomas Gwin, of Falmouth, in a small volume printed 1709, entitled, "A Brief Narrative of the Life of John Peters."

" Mine acquaintance with him was of above thirty years standing: in which time, having had frequently the benefit of his company, both at home and abroad, I never observed any carriage or deportment in him, but what was savoury, and becoming the Gospel. He had a well ordered family, which he governed with discretion, bringing up his young ones in the fear of the Lord; though but one, and that a good son, survived him. He bore admirably and sweetly the sad providences that attended him, when it pleased the Lord to take away his tender children, not only those that died young, but those also who were grown up, and were very sober and hopeful. He laboured faithfully in the Lord's vineyard, both in doctrine and discipline; yet took great care, if possible, to give offence to none, so as to drive them further from the truth. He was of the mind of the husbandman in the parable, who would not presently have the fruitless tree cut down, but would dig about it, and try it one year longer. Yet he was very zealous against all enormities, and undue liberties; labouring, if possible, to reclaim such as wandered thereinto, and, if not, to testify against them, that the profession of the Truth might be cleared. His ministry was sound and living, tending more to the reaching of the heart, than the tickling of the ear. And as his ministry was very intelligible, and attended with plainness, and demonstration, and power, to the piercing of many hearts, and the tendering the souls of those that heard him, and to the binding up the broken hearted, and comforting the mourners; so his conversation and behaviour answered and came up to it,—being full of gravity and solidity; never un-preaching in his behaviour and carriage, what he delivered as doctrine. I have given but short touches concerning the life and labours of this servant of God; but in fine, his life was a life of diligence, and of faithfulness, and of much exercise, which he cheerfully underwent for the Truth's sake. The love of God, the divine origin and well-spring of virtues, ruled in his heart; and in that love he lived, laboured, and passed the time of his sojourning here: and the sweet sense thereof did greatly adorn his

We resided with our father and mother Peters, and carried on some business, which was blest, and we increased in this world's goods ; for which we were greatly thankful to God, and the thoughts thereof often humbled our souls, so that we were not unmindful of praising God for it. Yet there remained something with me, which often led me into solitary walks and private retirements, sometimes into prayer, and sometimes I read, and sometimes I sat still, as one waiting to hear ; the reason hereof I knew not,—for I was careful not to offend God in anything which I knew he required of me : yet still it increased, insomuch that morning and evening, it became my constant practice to retire ; at which times I cried, and desired the Lord would be pleased to make known of his mind to me, that then I would obey him, if it were to the giving up of my natural life.

At last it was discovered to me ;—but then I wanted signs and tokens, that I might be certain it was the Lord's requiring,—fearing, because the enemy, working many times in a mystery, had deceived many : and he was likely to have reasoned all good out of me, and made me prove disobedient to the call of God, though not without a desire of performing his will. However I thought if this or the other stranger would speak to my condition, or tell me what God required of me, I would not then consult with flesh and blood any

languishing bed and last moments of time, and therein he had sweet peace under all his afflictions and sore distemper : in which love he finished his course, and concluded his days, and is fallen asleep in the Lord. His body was interred the thirteenth of the Seventh month, 1708, at the burying ground of our Friends at Minver.

longer. So it pleased God to answer my desire ; for several spake to me and bid me be faithful : and upon a time, on a First day morning, as I was walking alone, and more out of thought than usual, it opened in me like a voice, saying, ‘ This day will I open thy mouth, if thou art faithful to me ; ’ it seemed to surprise me, and being willing to be more acquainted with this voice, I turned myself about, and walked further into the orchard, desiring the Lord to be wisdom and strength to me ; and it rested with me that that was the day of the trial of my obedience. So I went home, and prepared for the meeting, to which most of our family went. I sat retired, until at last the word of the Lord was with me as a fire ; my father and mother-in-law Peters, both took a little time in the meeting,—which I thought had relation to me, and my then present exercise ; yet, I found it hard to give up : but being sensible it was my duty, at the latter part of the meeting I spake a few words ; and, although it was a little out of my season, yet I was thereby as one discharged of a great and heavy load, and comfort came into my soul ; so that I found it was good to obey the Lord. Being faithful in the few things, he made me ruler over more ; so that I found it often my place to speak a few words, and began to be concerned for the discipline of Truth, that it might be kept up, and its first and primitive simplicity maintained amongst us ; that we might not only profess the principles, but also be found like the first proselytes of Truth in this island, in plainness of dress and fewness of words, as well as fearfulness of running after the gain of riches, or too much frequenting the conversation of the people of the

world ; because there were many snares and dangers in it, which many incline after, respecting which, at times, I was concerned both to speak and write.

Thus, for about three years I passed my time, in the enjoyment of a tender and affectionate wife, who truly feared the Lord, and with whom I had great comfort ; and we were a strength and rejoicing to each other. But at length it pleased the Lord to take from me my dear wife in child-bed, in the year 1699. What shall I say ;—it was a near parting and a sharp exercise : yet, I was made to say, surely the Lord is good, let him do as it pleaseth him, and who dares to speak hardly, or say why doest thou so ? Job said, the Lord gives and he takes away, blessed be the name of the Lord. God knows what is best for us, better than we ourselves ; therefore I will labour to be contented in his will, and to follow after that ; hoping we may meet again where all disappointments are at an end : for all things here are uncertain, and man is born to trouble, as the sparks fly upwards ; there is no dependence on anything below the sun, therefore my dependence shall be in the right arm of His salvation ; hoping he will carry me through this vale of tears,—and how soon, the Lord only knoweth ; I desire not length of days, but that I may at last finish my course in peace.

Now passing on in my widowhood, I found I had some way or other received hurt ; for there seemed to come over me a cloud of thick darkness, so that my mouth was stopt for a time ; and I was as in a wilderness, having no comfort in meetings nor in retirements, but great temptation followed me, and it was with me sleeping and waking, insomuch that I was not able to follow my business. At last

I thought I would make my state and exercise known to my then father and mother-in-law Peters, who were not only related to me by marriage, but were truly near in spirit. When they had the knowledge of it, I had their advice; and their prayers for me were not wanting, and I have reason to believe were answered; for in a little time the temptation began to grow weaker and weaker,—strength began to increase,—and light to shine out of darkness, which gave me to see the travail of my soul, and that it was good for me to be tried,—for I should thus be better able to speak to such as might be under the like affliction. Then I had a word to speak again for God amongst his people, and cheerfulness increased; I also became fit for conversation with others, and followed my business, in which God blessed me, and I took delight in my friends. Although I lived four or five miles from our meeting, which was moveable, yet whatever I neglected, I attended that, if at home, on Fourth days as well as First days; God knew what inclined me so to do,—it was my love to him and his truth, which was more to me than anything in this world.

[It appears probable that it was during the prevalence of the afore-mentioned exercise of mind, that the following solemn language was committed to writing.]

‘O Lord, in secret to thee do I appeal, knowing thou canst hear, and often dost reward openly: at this time I make my complaint, because dryness is over my soul, and thy comfortable presence is not known, as when thou with the shining of thy brightness art pleased to arise. Yet in thee will I trust, having

faith to believe, that in thy appointed time and after thy wonted manner, thou wilt appear unto my waiting soul, which is breathing unto thee under a deep sense of the great want I at this time suffer,—daily seeking thee and waiting for thy arisings; that so this cloud may be removed, which hath long remained. I doubt my confidence will fail, although there is a resolution that, if thou appear not again, I will trust in thee;—having tasted of thy loving-kindness, when thou wast pleased to appear, as a broad river sending forth pleasant streams of joy and consolation, by which my soul hath been refreshed. O my God, in judgment or in loving-kindness, I pray thee appear, that my hungry soul may be filled: for I long after thee, O Lord, and I cannot find refreshment as in days past; yet I will not cease in secret to wait upon thee, or in silence to seek thee, because, there it was thou didst appear to my soul, and then it was that I was made willing to make a covenant with thee,—that if thou wouldest be with me, I would serve thee, my God, with a broken heart and an upright spirit; which I desired thou wouldest be pleased to place within me, that I might never more go from thee in heart or mind. I can speak to thy praise, thou hast often made me a sharer thereof, as in stillness I have waited upon thee. O Lord I can crave from thee thy promise, that, for the cry of the poor (Lord, who so poor as I?) and for the sighing of the needy, thou wouldest arise; and who so needy as I? who at this time want thee, and by the want of thee want all things. Oh! how sad a thing it is to be overshadowed as by a thick cloud, wherein great difficulties, as the buffetings of Satan, and the suggestions of the enemy, are ready to prevail. Therefore,

for the sake of the needy, arise ; and let thy sun be seen to shine, whereby comfort may be conveyed to the soul. Lord, thou knowest it is my desire to be serviceable for thee and for thy truth ; therefore I have been willing in secret before thee to offer up all into thy disposing hand, to do with that and me as seemed good in thy sight—who art an all-wise God, and knowest best what is best for the workmanship of thy hands. So, O my God, in patience will I wait, until my change shall come, for thou only knowest how it is with me at this time. In straits I have sought thee, and in difficult seasons I have waited in stillness upon thee, and thou hast never failed me ; but according to thy good pleasure, hast broken in as a man of war, strong in power and excellent in might ; for thou didst overcome, and set the prisoner at liberty, who, by reason of thy withdrawing, was ready to say, thou hadst forsaken. What shall be said of thy loving-kindness and of thy tender mercies, but that thou art a never-failing God in the midst of difficulties ; for although thou hidest thyself for a season, yet thou dost not wholly forsake, therefore what shall be said of thee ? Open my mouth, and I will shew forth of thy praise ;—speak but the word : thy fame is great in my soul, for my longing hath been great after thee. Oh ! Lord, draw near as a counsellor to instruct me ; for I will wait at thy footstool, that I may be filled with wisdom ; for when I have inquired for the place of wisdom and of good understanding, I have turned into the centre of my soul, where thou, that art wiser than Solomon, art found teaching by thy Spirit. Here is wisdom and understanding, and thou art giving it freely without money or price ; for nothing here, which thou

hast bestowed as an outward blessing on man, is able to purchase it. Therefore Lord, take all things here below that are thy blessings to me, rather than deprive me of the openings of wisdom to my soul; for it is that which I have desired, and through many difficulties have travelled to obtain. And now, Lord, seeing I have found thee, I desire a blessing from thy hand, that so I may never depart from thee more;—be pleased to let thy presence still be with me, that I may for ever be encompassed therewith,—that I may always be in sight of thee, whom I have chosen to be my leader. If thou wilt not let my soul be in the fulness of comfort, grant that my habitation may be always at the entrance of thy fulness, that whensoever thou openest, I may behold thy glory with delight, and that the sweetness that comes from thee may cause my heart to rejoice; which may be an evident token that as I hold out to the end, I shall receive an entrance into rest for evermore.’

I spent two years a widower, and made not any motion towards marriage, but was willing to see my way clear, and often desired the Lord would incline my heart to a suitable companion and help-meet in all states. I did not see that the happiness of man consisted in what he might have as to portion, because the Lord is a portion to his, and those that put their trust in him, shall want nothing that is for their good,—which I had faith to believe, as I kept here, I should certainly witness.

My honoured father Peters having a desire to visit some meetings in London, I accompanied him; and, as I found my heart engaged, I dropped a few words in meetings. So we went from Cornwall,

through Devonshire, Somersetshire, and Hampshire, into Sussex; from whence we had the company of our friend Elizabeth Gates to London, whose company was very acceptable. We tarried the time of the Yearly Meeting, part of which was very comfortable: Friends seemed to have great affection for each other, and there appeared to be a regard to the worthy name of the Lord, which had been great in Zion for the strengthening of her, that she might not be divided, nor her mighty men confuted; but that her peace might be as a river, and her brightness as the morning sun without clouds,—which was and is the travail of my soul. As to myself, I had a good and comfortable time there; and after the Yearly Meeting was ended, I returned with my father and friend Elizabeth Gates to her father's at Horsham, and stayed thereabout a few days; then going to a marriage at Shipley, we passed without having any other meeting, to Ringwood in Hampshire, being about seventy miles, and then to Poole, thence through Dorsetshire and Devonshire, and so home.

I was satisfied with my journey; my father shewed a tender and fatherly care over me, as to the small gift I had, and my spiritual exercise, that I might grow therein.

[After his return home, his mind became engaged with a prospect of making proposals of marriage to his friend Elizabeth Gates, which was encouraged by his father and mother Peters, who loved his said friend E. G.]

In some reasonable time, I acquainted her parents with my intentions, had their consent, and then making my mind fully known to my said friend, prevailed with her to agree to my proposals; and in

sometime after I made it known to our monthly meeting.

The Yearly Meeting in 1702 approaching, I was desirous to bring things about before the beginning of that meeting, so that we might be married soon after, hoping several friends from Cornwall might be at our marriage; and accordingly there were, and also divers from London and other places; so that we had a large meeting, and greatly to the satisfaction of us and others: for the goodness of the Lord attended our solemnity to our great comfort, and was as a seal of his divine favour, in bringing us together, and uniting our hearts in affinity of love. And whatever troubles or disappointments may have since happened, they have no ways lessened our affections; and this has hitherto preserved us as true help meets in the Lord, both in spirituals and temporals: for under any exercise either inward or outward, we have been as a succour and strength to each other; for, had it not been so, the many things we met with, might have broken our union.

So we came down into Cornwall, took a house, and settled at Liskeard; and I found we had a service amongst Friends, and we were thankful to God for it, who never faileth them that put their trust in him. But after we had laboured under some difficulties, finding the things of this world did not answer, considering the increase of our family, and our willingness to be serviceable on Truth's account, not only to labour in word and doctrine for the promotion of the gospel, but also to entertain strangers and those of the household of faith,—my wife inclined for her own country, hoping things might be better, and we more serviceable there: but I not

seeing the way for our removal very clearly, and my good old father and mother Peters, with other Friends, being unwilling to part with us hastily, were not very willing at first to consent to our removing, but laboured some time to prevent the same. At length finding things rather grew worse,—and the more so, because some unreasonable men had deprived me of that which was my chief income, I began to hearken to the request and desires of my wife; unto which Friends also now seemed a little to give way, fearing, I believe, lest they should be our hindrance, and so come under blame: and my father Gates, happening to die about the same time, there seemed to be a want of some person in his room. So, after nine years, having had four children, whereof three were living, we gave notice of a sale of our shop and household goods, and soon disposed of the same; then, taking leave of our sorrowful-hearted relations and friends, in a tender and broken frame of spirit, to the melting of many into tears, upon the bended knees of both body and soul, we recommended each other to God, and to the protection of his Divine Providence; desiring the Lord might go with us and preserve us in the way we were to go, and give us food and raiment, wherewith we hoped to be content. He who knows all, knew it was not great things which we longed after, but that we might be his servants, and be serviceable in our short space of time, for the good of souls; and we desired that he would be pleased to keep us in the remembrance of our friends, when far separated outwardly, that so we might be as epistles written in one another's hearts,—for the seasons which we had had together, were tendering and often melting. More I could say of this, for it was a day of days,

and not easily to be forgotten ;—the Lord bring it often to our remembrance, is what my soul desireth.

Having thus spent a little time together with Friends and other sober neighbours, with many embraces and hearty good wishes, we, with our little ones and necessary conveniences, set forward, being accompanied by Friends and others to a place where we ate and drank together : then taking our farewell of them, we left the country, [in the Third month, 1711 ;] being only myself, wife, and three children, a friend J. S., (who in kindness came to assist us,) and our servant-maid. Being favoured with good horses, good roads, and fine weather, we met with very few disappointments ; for all which we were thankful to God, our great preserver.

Now, having made my observations during the passage of some part of my pilgrimage, I see that there is much trouble attends this life, and he that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer much, and bear all things with patience, and press forward to the mark for the prize of the high calling in God : and, I hope the Lord will preserve many in this labour, who will study peace with all men, and pursue it ; which that I may be found in, during the remaining part of my pilgrimage, is what I desire.

End of the Memoir.

[About a year after his removal into Sussex, he wrote a letter to his sister, Tabitha Fox, (formerly Croker,) widow of Francis Fox, of Germans, in Cornwall ; from which the following is an extract :]

Horsham, the 20th of Ninth month, 1712.

DEAR SISTER,

MY desire is, that thou mayest be preserved through all thou mayest meet with in this thy pilgrimage, with a heart truly serving God;—for it is the heart he looks at. For by nature we are subject to many failings; yet keeping to that of God in us, it always brings an awe and fear upon us, lest we should offend,—making our words few, and our behaviour solid, so that we may administer grace to such whose eye may be on us. May the Lord preserve us all, that we may keep ourselves from giving offence to any,—that we may be as way-marks to direct Sion's travellers;—and, while God affords us a being here, that we may work the work of our day with faithfulness. For there is need of such, as much as ever; for many are fallen asleep in religion, and are careless about the principal part; not seeking God with all their heart, and with all their soul,—to make him their sure rock and firm foundation, that they may stand the day of trial: but when provings have come, they have started aside like a broken bow, and as a tooth out of place, they have been rebellious. Oh! that such may not happen in our day, among them that make profession of the blessed appearance of the Spirit of God in them to be their guide and sole director: for if such fall away, what shall the poor and the afflicted say? Surely, there is no dependence, but on the Lord,—nor reliance, but on the arm of His almighty power, which alone is the support of the faithful. Oh! my soul hath been led to consider of such things sometimes, which hath made me in secret say, 'Lord, seeing it is thus, what am I! if thou stand not by me, surely I shall fall; for, if such and such have

come short, what have I to depend on, who am little and as one of the least among many?" Yet it hath risen in such a time in my mind,—Fear not, neither look at such things; for the Lord never leaves such as daily put their trust in Him; but he will be a God nigh at hand for their preservation; that when trials and provings come, if they can but patiently wait, as Israel, such shall see the salvation of God, and his wonderful dealings with them; and testify thereof with cheerfulness, for the help of others who may come under the like trial and exercise.

Thus I have written, dear sister, in the freedom of my spirit at this time. God knows my heart, that my desire is, that every one who makes profession of the Truth, may walk as becomes the same, in all manner of lowliness and humility, as becomes a people serving God. This, I hope, will be thy case and mine;—that we may do all we can for the Truth, but nothing against it: that so, according to our small abilities, we may work the work of our day with faithfulness. Then assuredly the answer of "Well done," will be our portion,—and then we need not fear; for, although we may be tried as to the things of this life, yet God will take care for us at last:—To him be given glory and honour for evermore!

I conclude with our true love to thee and thy children, hoping that, as they grow in years, they may grow in the fear of the Lord. We shall be glad to hear of their welfare, not only in the things of this life, but in that which is durable, and will be lasting to them; which is the sincere desire of thy affectionate brother,

JOHN CROKER.

[As a parent, he appeared to be closely concerned for the welfare of his children :—he left in writing the following advice, addressed more especially to his son Charles, probably the eldest of the family :]

Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth. The more thou continuest thus to do, the more the Lord will love thee. And what opportunities thou hast, spend in serving of God, by privately walking and meditating on the things of God, and what relates to thy eternal good. Keep to meetings, and when there, bend thy mind to God, desiring him to be a stay thereunto ; for in vain thoughts the Lord hath no pleasure. Delight thyself in the company of good honest Friends, discoursing of good things, as thou hast opportunity for it ; be diligent to hear the ancient Friends or elders, whose experience hath been great in the Lord ; and let thy words be few, seasoned with grace, that those who converse with thee may have cause to say, that thou art one who is careful to be a good example, both in words and actions. Flee from all bad company as from a serpent ; for if thou hast not a care, they will betray thy soul, and bring thee unto thralldom ; for the end of such is to propagate and advance their master's kingdom, which is the devil, the pleasure-monger of this world. But mind to fear always lest thou shouldest offend ; and often inquire in thy heart of God the way towards his kingdom, that thou mayest not miss the crown of glory, and thou hast no need to question but he will lead thee on, and arm thee with strength to withstand the devil and his agents. For remember that I, thy father, have left it for thee to take notice of, that thou art brought into a world where the devil reigns in the hearts of very

many, and such will seek to betray thee. Therefore have a care and watch in the light of the Lord who shineth in the secret of thy soul: take heed unto it, for it never consenteth to any evil action; mind the leadings of it, for it always leads unto that which is good; often commune with it in stillness, that thou mayest be more and more acquainted with it, which as it is obeyed, will open wisdom unto thee, whereby thou wilt come to be wise in the things of God.

Look not abroad after outward things and outward wisdom, or to any of the lo-heres or lo-theres;—the Lord is nigh to all them that love him, therefore, attend upon him daily, and he will make thee wise unto salvation; his wisdom is beyond rubies, or the golden wedge of Ophir;—there is nothing to be compared with it. Remember that I have told thee, he that is the giver is near unto thee,—a measure or manifestation of his Spirit is in the closet of thy heart; therefore, sink deep there, for there the pearl is to be found. I know, and am well satisfied, if thou keep near to the Lord, it will be well with thee; and the Lord, whom I desire to serve, will do great things for thee, and thou wilt be honourable in thy day.

Read not in dull foolish books, with which the nation abounds; but read in the Holy Scriptures, in which there is a great deal of comfort: for by this wisdom which I would have thee seek diligently after, they, the Scriptures are able to make wise unto salvation: likewise read Friends' books, and others which tend to edification.

If the Lord should think fit to give thee years in this world, that thou dost grow to the full stature of a man, and incline to marry, mind these sayings

of thy father. Let this be thy principal concern, seek first the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof, and all other things shall be added. This is the first and principal thing; then as thou findest freedom, thou mayest act farther, as God shall direct; but ever mind to take the advice of the ancient and honest Friends, and weigh the affair well in thy own mind, lest by fond affections and foolish inclinations, thou be deceived. I have already informed thee where thy counsellor is, therefore mind to seek him; he will never fail thee. Let not thy mind out too soon, whilst thou art young, but rather tarry until the years of twenty-five or thirty, and then thou wilt have consideration; and God, if sought unto, will so direct thee, that thou mayest have a wife, who may be suitable for thee, and helpful to thee in all conditions, both spiritual and temporal; for therein consisteth the great joy of a married life. Therefore be sure choose one, who cometh of an honest stock, and whose conversation is mostly with the well inclined; for if any delight to be full of idle discourse, the inclinations of such lead to vanity, and the end thereof will be sorrow; from such turn away. Choose one that is solid, whose words are few and savoury, and whose delight is to be with the faithful, such as keep themselves from the spots of the world. Choose not by the eye as to beauty, nor to the abundance she may have of this world, for by these many have been deceived, and have found sorrow in the end; but let the eye be to the better part. And when joined together, remember you twain be as one flesh; love her and cherish her, as becomes a faithful husband; be not froward, but mild and gentle, full of love and condescension, bearing and forbearing, doing

all things with a meek and quiet spirit, by which God will be honoured, and love increase, so that nothing will seem too much, that can be done for each other. In this way thou wilt reap a great deal of peace, and enjoy abundance of good from the hand of God ; for thus thou wilt be happy in this life, and it will be a means to prepare thee for the life that is to come ; in which you will be often instructing each other to your great edification. And when troubles of this world happen, in which thou must expect to meet with a share, you will be a help and great rejoicing one to another : and happy will thy life be in such an one, for she will be contented with thee in all states. The abundance of the things of this life never made any happy, but it is godliness with content, that hath ever been the great gain of the righteous, which labour for more than for outward riches. Therefore, as I have said, seek the kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof, and all other things shall be added ; and if the Lord should be pleased to bless thee in the things of this life, set not thy heart thereon ; but remember it is a blessing bestowed on thee, the more to humble thy soul ; for the more God gives, the more humble he expects us to be. If losses and crosses come, be not dismayed nor discouraged ; the Lord sees what is best for thee ; and remember what a good man said in his day :—" I have been young, and now am old, yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread." And if things do abound, remember they are not for thyself alone ; for " the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof." Therefore be free, and desire God to open thy heart to those that stand in need, and be serviceable in thy day in doing good, and communicate to those who stand in need of outward

things, with which God may have blest thee. Desire him to make thee serviceable in all things that will tend to the honour of his name, by opening thy mouth in wisdom, that thou mayest likewise charitably hand forth good advice to them that stand in need of it, for it is a charitable part to help the soul as well as the body. And if the Lord should see fit to give thee children, desire of him a blessing for them, that they may grow up in his favour, and that he may give thee wisdom to bring them up to his honour, towards which a good pattern of meekness and humility will be a great help. When thou chastisest them, do it not in anger, but in love and gentleness, and with mild words : seeking to reach the witness of God in them. Let it not be thy chiefest care to provide for them abundance in this world, but rather labour with the Lord, that He may be a portion to them ; for it is He only that can make thee and them happy.

[The Editor regrets that the biographical materials which have been preserved to this day, respecting John Croker, whose early life presented so much to interest the youthful reader more especially, should be found so limited. From the period of his removal to Horsham to his death, (which took place about sixteen years after,) but little has been left on record respecting him. Some few particulars of his expressions during his last illness, by his wife, now only remain to be brought forward.]

He was at our First day's meeting at Horsham, and the same night, was taken with a violent pain. Sometime after, he signified his satisfaction that he had been at meeting that day : he had spoken in

the meeting to his comfort, was much engaged in his testimony at that time, in advice to the young amongst us, (as very frequently he was at other times opened in the love of God to the youth,)—desiring that they might grow up in a sober, religious, righteous life, and conduct themselves agreeably to our holy profession; putting them in mind of our good elders, that trod the way for us through much sufferings, and great hardships. At this last meeting, he signified to us his desire to be clear; saying, the Lord knows whether ever I may be here again, which seemed as if he did somewhat question it.

In his illness, he many times prayed that the Lord would cut short his work in righteousness, his pain being great. At another time, that the Lord would send his angels, and carry him into Abraham's bosom: he also said, he had nothing to do but to die, and that he was easy and quiet in his mind; adding, that he did not fear death, hell, nor the grave; and at another time, that the accuser of the brethren was cast out. Several times he was free in advice and exhortations to Friends, as they came to visit him, that they might keep in the way of Truth, and mentioned the danger they would fall into, if they wandered out of it. He gave several cautions, which were very affecting and tendering to all present. He further said, he had much more on his mind to mention, if he could obtain ease; and he often advised to keep up our meetings, particularly our week-day meetings, and to live in love one with another, and not to let the world see to the contrary,—adding, he felt love and good will to all.

We had two sons at home, and he was frequent in advice to them, the substance of which was, that

they might live in the true fear of the Lord, and be dutiful to their mother, and love the company of good Friends: he would often call for them, when out of his sight, with much love in his heart, for both them and me, and he manifested his love to me in many affectionate expressions.

Something more than a day before his end, either a Friend or myself saying his hands and legs were cold; his answer to us was, that we should rejoice and be exceeding glad; meaning that death was so near at hand to him; and sometimes when I said, 'my dear, thou art cold,' he would say, 'not cold enough yet.' He was sensible during most of his illness, and perceived the approach of death.

Although he had very little ease day or night, but was mostly in great pain: yet he gave us, who attended on him, not one hasty or unsavoury word; and he was very tenderly concerned for me, lest I should be over-much troubled for the loss of him; and said, 'we came together in love, and had lived in love, and so should part;'—with much more of this kind.

He was indeed a very tender, loving husband, and an affectionate father; yet not so blind in his affections, but that he could see the faults of his children; and he was not sparing in his reproofs. A considerable time before his distemper seized him, he often spoke of dying; and when night came, often said,—'one more day added to the rest,' or to that effect.

He was one who numbered his days, and I may say, applied his heart to wisdom: of late years he slept but little, and at such times, when he failed of sleep, was very thoughtful of a future state, as I

have found by discourse when I awoke. He dearly loved peace and unity, (and with his Friends a free conversation,) the contrary was a great trouble to him. He was also very ready and willing to do any service for such as did desire it, either Friends or others, as his neighbours can testify; and he was considerate and compassionate to the poor, both to strangers, and to those that were not, and relieved them sometimes with what we should otherwise have made use of.

As I lately lay on my bed, thinking on my dear husband, it came into my mind, with some comfort and satisfaction, that his memorial is blessed, and that his name shall be had in everlasting remembrance in the book of life: for he was an honest, innocent man, and prized the good in himself and in others, as some now in being are sensible of; encouraging them both by personal visits and advices, and also by writing to them.

As to my own part, my loss is very great in divers respects, I often think; for he took a part with me in all the troubles and exercises in which he could be helpful to me, and I may say he was to me a very faithful help-meet.

Since it has pleased the Lord to remove my dear husband from me by death, it is my satisfaction that we lived in love and good agreement; and (I think) I may safely say, we performed the covenants we entered into before many witnesses; and I am satisfied he is entered into the glorious rest prepared for the people of God.

He was born in the year 1672, (by the Register,) the eighth of the Twelfth month, in the town of

Plymouth, in the county of Devon; and departed this life, the twenty-ninth of the Eleventh month 1727, at Horsham, in the county of Sussex, aged very nearly fifty-five years; and was buried in Friends' burying ground at Horsham, the first day of the Twelfth month.

THE END.

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OVERDUE FEES.

CHARGED

WIDENER
DEC 19 2001
BOOK DUE

CANCELLED

APR 2 2002

WIDENER
MAR 0 0 1997

BOOK DUE
CANCELLED

WIDENER
FEB 1 0 2002
BOOK DUE
CANCELLED

WIDENER
FEB 1 0 2002
BOOK DUE

